

Collins' School Series.

A

HISTORY OF GREECE

FOR

JUNIOR CLASSES,

BY

LEONHARD SCHMITZ, LL.D.,

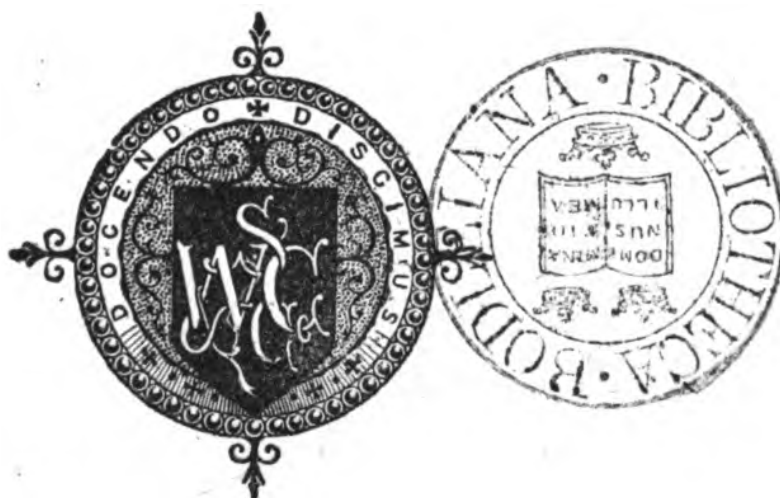
CLASSICAL EXAMINER IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

GIVING A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST
TO THE PRESENT DAY,

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P R E F A C E.

THE History of Greece here offered to the public is intended as an introduction to the excellent larger works which are the pride of English scholarship.

I have introduced a novelty which will be justified, I hope, by the more correct views now entertained in regard to the two great nations of antiquity. In all the school histories of Greece hitherto published, the Greek divinities are called by the names given to them by the Romans. This practice has led to an utter confusion of the religions of the two nations, which, in many respects, were totally different. The Romans may indeed be excused for identifying their gods with those of Greece and other nations, but I can see no reason why we should follow their example. I have, therefore, called the Greek gods by their Greek names; and wherever the Roman name presents any material difference, I have added it in brackets. The same system has been followed in regard to other proper names: as the Greek language has no *c*, the Greek letter *k* has been retained; and instead of the Latin termination *us*, I have given the Greek *os*. It would, however, be mere pedantry rigorously to apply the same rule to all proper names, for in the case of some the Roman form, either in its entirety

or in an abridged shape, has almost become a part of the English language itself. The same system, I am glad to find, has been adopted in some of the larger recent Histories of Greece.

A brief sketch has been added, to continue the history of Greece from its conquest by the Romans, in B.C. 146, to the accession of King George in 1862. This addition seemed almost necessary, as the Greek nation, though conquered and subdued by foreigners, has always continued to exist, and still exists, speaking essentially the same language as their forefathers, 2000 years ago. Their history during that long period of subjugation is very instructive in more ways than one; for they never ceased to struggle for the recovery of their freedom, until in the end they gained the rewards of their unceasing and patriotic exertions and sacrifices. If the nation at present seems in some respects to have degenerated, we ought not on that account to withhold from it our sympathies and admiration, for such must always be the result if a people has for a long period been subjected to a cruel and tyrannical rule like that of the Turks. But time, a wise government, and the enjoyment of liberty, will, it is hoped, ere long raise the gifted people of Greece to a position worthy of their illustrious ancestors, to whom all civilised nations are more deeply indebted than to any other.

L. S.

LONDON, *August* 1874.

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GIVING A

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FROM B.C. 146 TO THE ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE, 1862.

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HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first people we meet with at the very threshold of European history are the Greeks, or, as they called themselves, Hellenes, occupying the south-eastern peninsula of our Continent. At the time when they first appear in history, they were not yet known by any name common to them all, each tribe having its own special name ; and it was not till between 800 and 700 years B.C. that the name Hellenes was applied to the whole nation, extending from the Cambunian mountains in the north to the southern extremity, and over the adjacent islands. In the earliest times the greater part of the country was inhabited by a race called the *Pelasgians*, of whom a great deal has been written, but very little is known. It is certain, however, that they were not materially different from the Hellenes, and belonged to the same race as they, for in the course of time, and without any wars or violent commotions, we find them united with the Hellenes into one nation, speaking everywhere essentially the same language, and entertaining essentially the same views about

their gods. The differences in this respect appearing in the different parts of the country, so far as the language is concerned, were only of a dialectical nature; and in like manner, though some of their gods were worshipped in one district more particularly than in others, yet all were recognised in all parts of the country.

This nation of the Hellenes is one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable, among the civilised peoples of the earth, and has exercised both on contemporary nations and upon posterity an influence which it is scarcely possible to over-estimate. They were endowed by nature with the rarest qualities both of mind and body; their minds were ever active and striving to improve upon what they had already attained; they attempted to solve the loftiest problems in religion, philosophy, art, and literature; they never rested satisfied with what they had achieved, but were ever eager to advance and improve. Nothing was stationary with them, and although they disdained everything that was foreign, which they called barbarous, yet they never scrupled to adopt whatever they found useful or beneficial among the barbarians, and so to assimilate it as to give it the stamp of their own character and genius. They did not, indeed, always succeed in their lofty aspirations after perfection, for in their religion they did not arrive at the idea of one God as the creator and preserver of the universe; in their philosophy they at once boldly grappled with the highest problems, which even yet are awaiting their solution; and in their love of freedom they passed through all the constitutional changes from royalty to a wild and unbridled democracy, until their political life was extinguished by the overwhelming power of Rome. But in the arts and literature, they attained an eminence which has never been surpassed and hardly equalled. The Greeks, therefore, are a noble example of what human ingenuity and perseverance can accomplish, and that, too, at a period when the best part of the human race may be said to have been still in its infancy. They have, moreover, developed a language which, by its beauty, subtlety, and flexi-

bility, is capable of expressing the most delicate shades of human thought, and still commands universal admiration.

We naturally ask, Who were these Hellenes? When and whence did they come into Europe? Their own belief in later times was that they had sprung from the soil on which they lived; nay, some of them maintained that they were older than the moon—so completely had they forgotten their origin and their past history. But their language and their religious ideas incontrovertibly show that they were a branch of the great Aryan family of nations, which also includes the Hindoos, Persians, Armenians, Italians, Slavonians, Germans, and Kelts. The Greek language, not only in its roots, but even in its inflections, bears a more or less close resemblance to the languages of the nations just enumerated, and thus proves that they are all descended from one common stock. All circumstances confirm the now universal belief that they immigrated into Europe from Asia, and descended into the peninsula of Greece from the north. When this immigration took place it is impossible to ascertain; but if we may venture a guess, it would seem that the time of their arrival in Europe may be fixed at about 2000 years before the Christian era.

The nearest kinsmen of the Hellenes were the inhabitants of the greater part of Italy—that is, those Italians who spoke Latin, or a dialect of Latin, for the resemblance between the Latin and the Greek languages is so great and so striking that we are forced to suppose that the nations speaking them formed at one time only one people which afterwards broke up into two branches, one occupying the peninsula of Greece, and the other that of Italy; and in each country they again became divided into a number of tribes speaking different dialects. The country occupied by the Hellenes, Hellas or Greece, is very small, and on the whole, mountainous, but it contains some very fertile plains. It has scarcely any navigable river, but to compensate for this, the country abounds in excellent bays and harbours, facilitating the intercourse with the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean. When they

started from their original home, which must have been somewhere about the north-west of India, they, of course, took with them not only their language and religion, but all those elements of civilisation which had already been attained in their ancient common home. What that civilisation was, is revealed to us by a comparison of the kindred languages, and this comparison altogether dispels the idea entertained by ancient and some modern historians, that the Greeks on their first appearance in Europe were savages, living in caves, feeding upon acorns, and devoid of any knowledge of agriculture or the breeding of cattle. A great variety of words expressive of a state of things far above that of the savage are common to the Greeks and their kinsmen who remained in their Asiatic home, a clear proof that a considerable degree of civilisation had already been attained before the Greeks separated and entered upon their westward migration.

There was a time when it was believed that the Hellenes had received their civilisation from foreign immigrants. Thus Kekrops was believed to have come from Egypt and to have built the Kekropia, the akropolis or citadel of Athens; Kadmos, a Phœnician prince who set out in search of his sister who had been carried off, was supposed to have arrived in Bœotia, and to have founded there the Kadmeia, the akropolis of Thebes; Danaos, with his fifty daughters, was believed to have taken refuge in Hellas to escape from the vengeance of his brother Ægyptos, and to have given the name of Danai to a portion of the Hellenic people; and Pelops, lastly, a son of Tantalos, was said to have come from Phrygia or Lydia in Asia Minor, to have taken possession of a part of the southern peninsula of Hellas, and to have given it its name of Peloponnesus, that is, the island of Pelops. But most of these stories can be shown to have originated in Hellas itself, and some of them seem to have owed their currency either to the vanity of foreign nations, such as the Egyptians, who claimed a share in the civilisation of the Hellenes; or, as in the case of Pelops, the story may have originated in

some vague and dim recollection of an ancient connection between Hellas and Asia Minor. The legend about Kadmos alone seems to have been founded upon something more substantial; for it is well attested that at a very early period, Phœnicians visited the islands and coasts of Hellas both as traders and as pirates, and tradition is unanimous in stating that the art of writing was introduced into Hellas by Phœnicians. It would indeed be absurd to suppose that the Hellenes were not influenced at all by the nations round about them, for no nation can remain completely isolated without injury to itself; but whatever ideas or institutions either individual immigrants or bodies of immigrants may have brought into Hellas, they were so completely altered and assimilated by the genius of the Hellenes, that in the course of time every trace of their foreign origin disappeared. The language of the Hellenes itself contains no trace of Egyptian or any other foreign influence; their religion is essentially that of their Aryan kinsmen, only modified and altered by their own imagination, when the real significance of their gods and their attributes had been forgotten. The arts of the Hellenes can be traced in their own country from the rudest beginnings to their highest development; and in their political and social institutions there is nothing that might point to an Egyptian or other Semitic origin—they form, in fact, the strongest contrast to the political and social institutions of the Semitic race. In short, the whole civilisation of the Hellenes bears the unmistakable mark of its having originated and developed with the people itself.





HOMER.

CHAPTER I.

THE MYTHICAL OR LEGENDARY PERIOD.

THIS period, during which the gods were supposed to have descended among men, and personally to have taken an active part in their affairs, extends from the remotest times to about B.C. 1100. All that the Greeks themselves knew about that period, had been handed down by oral tradition, and had been so much altered and embellished by the poetical genius of the nation and by the poets of later times, that in most cases it is impossible to say what may have been the real groundwork of those ancient stories. But as they are not only constantly alluded to by the Greek and Latin writers, and, in fact, form the foundations of most of their poetical productions, but are also much interwoven with the poetry of modern nations, it will be necessary to give at least brief outlines of the most important of the early legends.

First in importance are the legends of *Herakles* (Hercules). Danaos, the supposed immigrant from Egypt, had a granddaughter Danaë, who became by Zeus (Jupiter), the greatest among the Hellenic gods, the mother of Perseus, and from him was descended Herakles, a son of Zeus by Alkmena, a granddaughter of Perseus. Herakles is the greatest and most famous of all the mythical heroes of Hellas: he was believed to have been a man of gigantic strength, and the most wonderful exploits are ascribed to him. The number of these extraordinary feats is twelve,

but it seems clear that the Greeks ascribed to their great hero what can never have been the works of one man, even though he were a giant, but must have been the results of the labours of whole generations of men arriving in an uninhabited country, and having to contend with all manner of difficulties. Thus he is said to have cleft rocks, to have turned the courses of rivers, to have opened subterraneous outlets of lakes, and to have cleared the country of wild and noxious beasts. He is also represented as the protector of the weak and helpless, as the chastiser of cruel tyrants, and as having traversed many foreign lands, where he achieved equally wonderful feats. The imagination of the Greeks raised him to the rank of a god, to whom temples were erected and sacrifices offered. In works of art he is represented as a strong muscular man, armed with a club and carrying a lion's skin.

Another great hero, who may be regarded as the Herakles of Attika, is *Theseus*, a son of *Ægeus* and *Æthra*, a daughter of the King of Trœzen. The Athenians looked upon him as an ancient king who had united the various towns of Attika into one state, and laid the foundation of its political constitution. He was believed to have freed the country from daring and cruel robbers, and thereby to have rendered the road over the isthmus of Korinth safe for travellers, to have slain giants and destructive animals. But the feat for which he was most famous was the manner in which he delivered Athens from a tribute which had to be paid to Minos, a mighty king of Krete. This tribute consisted of a number of young men and maidens, who were sent annually to Krete, there to be devoured by a monster called the Minotaur, who lived in a labyrinthine cave. When the time came for sending out these victims, young Theseus himself desired to be one of them. On his arrival in Krete he won the love of Ariadne, the king's daughter, who furnished him with a thread by means of which, after slaying the Minotaur, he found his way out of the labyrinth. Having thus freed Athens for ever from the cruel tribute, he left the

island with Ariadne, whom, however, he abandoned in the isle of Naxos, not venturing to take a stranger home as his wife. His father, who was anxiously watching for his return, was led by the black sail when the ship came in sight, to the belief, that his son had perished, and in despair, threw himself into the sea, which was hence called the Ægæan Sea. Theseus now succeeded his father as king of Athens, and in commemoration of the union of the whole country under one government, established the festival of the Panathenæa. His memory was preserved by a temple called the Theseum, which the Athenians erected in his honour.

Minos, who is said to have possessed the most powerful navy at the time, is, like Theseus, described as a wise political legislator, though the laws and institutions of which he is said to have been the author, can be shown to have been introduced into Krete at a much later time by the Dorians, when they colonised the island.

We might further mention the story of the *Kalydonian* hunt—the chief hero of which is Meleagros, who succeeded in killing a ferocious boar which devastated the country round Kalydon—and a number of other interesting legends, but we must confine ourselves to giving an outline of three, which are the most important and most interesting during the mythical period.

The Expedition of the Argonauts.—*Jason*, it is said, was the rightful heir of the kingdom of Iolkos in Thessaly, but Pelias, who had usurped the throne, was in perpetual fear of Jason, it having been intimated by an oracle that a descendant of Æolos—an ancestor of Jason—would succeed to the throne. Pelias, therefore, induced the young prince to undertake some perilous adventure in the hope that he would perish in it. Accompanied by many other heroes, he sailed in a large ship, called the *Argo* (hence the name of the Argonauts), to Kolchis, on the east coast of the Black Sea, to fetch the golden fleece which was kept there in a grove of Ares (Mars). After many adventures the party reached Kolchis, and here many more difficulties had to be overcome. But *Medeia*, the daughter

of Æetes, the king of Kolchis, who conceived a passion for Jason, and was skilled in all manner of sorcery, assisted Jason, and the feat was successfully accomplished. Jason then returned, taking Medeia with him as his wife, and in order to detain her father who was pursuing her, Medeia killed her young brother Absyrtos, and dismembering his body, scattered the parts on her road, by the collecting of which her father's pursuit was checked. The adventures of the heroes on their return were as many and as dangerous as had been those on their way out. On Jason's arrival at Iolkos, Pelias still persisted in refusing the kingdom to his rival, but he was murdered, and Jason became king of Iolkos. Some years later, though he had two children by Medeia, Jason fell in love with Kreüsa, daughter of the King of Korinth. Medeia, stung with jealousy, had recourse to her arts of sorcery, and caused the death of her rival by steeping her garment in a poison which consumed her body; she then murdered her own two children, and disappeared in a chariot drawn by winged dragons.

This story implies that the Greeks even in those early times undertook voyages to distant lands. It is quite evident that the story, as it is related, cannot be believed, but it is impossible to say what historical event may have given rise to it, and we must take it as it stands, as a proof of what the childlike imagination of the Greeks could be made to believe.

The Royal House of Thebes.—Labdakos, a king of Thebes, was succeeded by his son Laios, who married Jokasta, and by her became the father of *Ædipus*. Laios being informed by an oracle that this son would cause his death, exposed the infant in a forest on Mount Kithæron, expecting that he would be killed by wild beasts. But the child was found by a shepherd, who took it to Polybos, king of Korinth, and as the king's wife was childless, the cast-away was brought up as his own son. When he grew up to manhood he naturally became anxious to know his true parentage, and proceeded to the oracle at Delphi. There he was told that he would cause his father's death,

and in order to avoid the possibility of such a misfortune, he resolved not to return to Korinth, thinking that possibly Polybos might after all be his father. During his wanderings he met his father Laios in a narrow defile. A quarrel arose between the attendants of the two travellers, and in the ensuing fight Laios was slain by Œdipus, who, unaware of the nature of his crime, proceeded to Thebes. That city happened to be in great distress, on account of a monster, called the Sphinx, half lion and half woman, who proposed a riddle to all persons passing by the rock in which she lived, and every one who was unable to solve the riddle, was hurled from the rock and killed. Œdipus succeeded in solving the riddle, and the Sphinx then cast herself from the rock. The widowed queen Jokasta had made it known that, whoever freed Thebes from the monster should have her hand and share her throne. Œdipus accordingly, without knowing it, married his own mother, and became by her the father of two sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, and two daughters, Antigone and Ismene.

During the period of this unfortunate marriage, Thebes was visited by all sorts of calamities, of which no one knew the cause, until an oracle revealed all the horrible facts. Jokasta in despair put an end to her life, and Œdipus having put out his eyes, wandered about as a wretched exile, accompanied only by his affectionate daughter Antigone, and died on the hill of Kolonos in Attika. His two sons succeeded him on the throne, but soon fell out with each other. Each secured allies, and a war ensued called the war of the *Seven against Thebes*. The city was besieged, and the war lasted for a long time, until in a final hand-to-hand struggle Eteokles and Polyneikes pierced each other through the body. Their descendants (the *Epigoni*) also carried on a war against Thebes to avenge their fathers, and the city of Thebes was destroyed.

The Trojan War is the most famous of all the enterprises of the heroic age, and this fame it owes to the immortal epic of the *Iliad* which goes by the name of

Homer, and is the only one of the many epic poems which celebrated the exploits of the heroes of Troy, that has come down to our time. The story of the Trojan war is briefly this. During a contest for beauty among the three goddesses—Hera (Juno), Athena (Minerva), and Aphrodite (Venus), Paris, a son of Priam, king of Troy, was chosen to decide the dispute. He assigned the prize to Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, who in return promised him the most beautiful wife. Helen, a daughter of Zeus and Leda, was of such passing beauty that all the Greek princes were suitors for her hand. Helen preferred Menelaos, king of Sparta, and her foster-father made all the Greek princes pledge themselves to assist and support Menelaos, if ever he should get into trouble about his wife. On one occasion Paris visited Sparta, and, aided by Aphrodite, he not only won the love of Helen, but with a gross violation of the laws of hospitality, carried her off, together with many treasures. The Trojans when summoned to send her back refused, and all the Greek chiefs, faithful to their promise, now undertook to avenge the wrong done to Menelaos; and, united under the supreme command of Agamemnon, the brother of Menelaos and king of Mykenæ, they undertook a great expedition against Troy, sailing from the port of Aulis in about 1200 ships. Although Agamemnon had the supreme command, another Greek hero, Achilles, a son of the goddess Thetis, surpassed him and all the other Greek chiefs in courage and valour. The principal hero among the Trojans was Hector, a son of Priam. On one occasion, Agamemnon gravely offended Achilles, in consequence of which the latter withdrew from the contest, and the Trojans nearly succeeded in driving the Greeks out of their land. But in the hour of extremity, when his own friend Patroklos had fallen, Achilles again began to take part in the fight, and in the end killed Hector. He then tied his body by the feet to his chariot, and dragged it thrice round the city. The war lasted ten years, and ended in Troy being taken by the Greeks through the famous stratagem of the wooden

horse. The Trojans are said to have been assisted by auxiliaries from several parts of Asia Minor, and even from the far distant east. The fall of Troy is commonly assigned to the year B.C. 1184.

This story, with all the marvellous details described in the Homeric and other poems, cannot, of course, be regarded as real history, but still we need not refuse to believe that at one time there actually was a great war between the Greeks of Europe and the inhabitants of the north-west coast of Asia Minor, which may perhaps have arisen out of an attempt of the Greeks to take possession of that part of Asia, for it is there that the Greeks established their first colonies, of which moreover Agamemnon was regarded as the founder.

The return of the heroes from Troy forms the transition to an entirely new state of things. Many of them had been killed in the war, others had perished on their way home, and others wandered about for many years before they reached their native land, and then found their thrones occupied by usurpers, or their kingdom in a state of anarchy. Thus Agamemnon on his arrival at Mykenæ was murdered by Ægisthos, the paramour of his wife Clytæmnestra; and Odysseus had to contend against numerous suitors for his throne and the hand of his wife Penelope. In fact, the stories about the return of the heroes from Troy formed as important a part in the ballad poetry of the Greeks as the Trojan war itself. But after this the heroes entirely disappear, and we are beginning to feel that the events recorded thereafter have more the real appearance of history than anything preceding it.



COIN OF SMYRNA.



SACRIFICE OF A BULL.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF CIVILISATION DURING THE HEROIC AGE.

As the Trojan war and its immediate consequences form the close of the heroic age, it will be of interest to cast a glance at the state of civilisation during that period, so far as it is revealed to us in the poems of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the earliest productions of European literature.

One of the most characteristic features of the heroic age is the peculiar relation between gods and men. The *gods* were believed to dwell on Mount Olympus in the north-east of Thessaly; thence they often descended, mingled among mortal men, took an active part in their affairs, and in times of war some always sided with the one party, and others with the other. When they appeared among men, they usually assumed the form of some mortal, and but rarely showed themselves in all their majesty as gods, because it would have been overpowering to the weak senses of men. But still they were everywhere conceived as beings of the human form, both male and female. This anthropomorphism of the gods, however, seems to have been a conception of a later stage in the development of the religious ideas during the heroic age; for the earliest Greeks, or the Pelasgians, as we may call them, worshipped the various powers of Nature as manifested in the sun, the moon, the clouds, the winds, the sea, earthquakes, thunder and lightning; in short, wherever they perceived any active agency in

Nature, they looked upon it with awe and reverence as a manifestation of some deity. In this respect the ancient Greek religion still bore a strong resemblance to that of their Aryan kinsmen in the east. Thus Zeus was the father of light, Apollo was the sun, Artemis (Diana) the moon, Poseidon (Neptune) the sea, Athena the personification of wisdom and valour, etc. But when once the gods were conceived as beings of human forms, subject to all the weaknesses and passions of mortal men, the more ancient and grander ideas of the gods were gradually forgotten, though in many of the tales related about them we can still hear, as it were, an echo of the noble primitive ideas, and many a tale which appears to us ridiculous or even immoral, frequently enshrines some sublime idea of Nature's powers and influences. The gods were conceived as immortal beings, and each one in his own sphere as almost omnipotent; but there was a still greater power, the power of Fate, to whose inscrutable and inflexible decrees even the gods had to submit, and from which mortal men, do what they might, could not escape, as is seen in the story of *Œdipus*. The supposed anger of the gods was propitiated, and their goodwill secured by sacrifices and prayers; and the more precious a sacrifice was, the more efficacious it was believed to be, whence even human sacrifices appear to have been resorted to. In later times the gods were represented in statues of marble or bronze, and set up in temples; but sometimes even a very rude image or a stone, supposed to have fallen from heaven, was reverently looked upon as the symbol of some god. We must not, however, believe that the Greeks actually worshipped such images and symbols; such idolatry, if it ever did occur, arose only at a very late period of Greek history, and even then was confined to the ignorant who confounded the symbols with the gods themselves.

Although the gods were not always represented by the poets as models of goodness and morality, they were, nevertheless, supposed to punish the misdeeds of men both in this world and in a future state, for they believed

in a sort of immortality of the soul, though its life in the nether world was believed to be so dismal that one of the great heroes is said to have declared he would rather be a beggar on earth than a king of the shades in the lower regions. Zeus, the supreme god, was looked upon as the protector of hospitality, of strangers, and of beggars. The violation of an oath was also believed to be avenged by Zeus.

All men have a natural desire to know something of the future, and the Greeks fancied that such knowledge could be obtained in a variety of ways, from signs in the heavens, from dreams, and other natural occurrences ; but there also were men, like Kalchas, Teiresias, and others, who were believed to have received the gift of prophecy from the gods. There were, moreover, certain localities in which the gods were supposed to reveal the future to mortals. The most ancient and most celebrated place of this kind was Dodona, with its oracle of Zeus, in Epirus. This was afterwards eclipsed by the renowned oracle of Apollo at Delphi, where states and cities, as well as private citizens, sought comfort and advice, and nothing great was ever undertaken without first consulting the will of the gods.

The arts of war and navigation were still in their infancy. The ships which conveyed the Greeks to Troy were open boats, some carrying 120, and others only 50 men. During the war itself, we hear, indeed, of armies, but the poets generally speak only of the combats of heroes, which always decide the issue of a battle, unless some god interferes. The masses appear mostly only as a sort of background and foil for the heroes. Each hero, accompanied by a charioteer, fights from a chariot drawn by two horses, and is armed with sword, spear, and bow and arrows. No quarter was given to a vanquished enemy, whose dead body even was often savagely insulted. Prisoners of war, especially women, were generally distributed as slaves among the conquerors, while the men were put to death.

The country of Greece, which was then not yet desig-

nated by a common name, was divided into a great number of principalities, each of which was governed by an hereditary king. On grave occasions the king summoned a council of elders or nobles, among whom he was only the first in rank. The great body of the people were of little account. Laws in our sense of the term did not exist, everything being determined by ancient usage and precedent.

The social life, as we might expect, was extremely simple, and in many ways resembled that of our ancestors during the Middle Ages. Even queens and princesses performed the ordinary duties of the household down to fetching water and washing clothes. Females were under less restraint than we find them during the historical times. The nobles who were mainly distinguished for their prowess, and sometimes for their wisdom, generally had a number of slaves who, in most cases, were prisoners of war, or had been purchased from foreign merchants, or were the children of slaves born in the house of the master. Though the Greeks were severe in their treatment of slaves, they never were wanton or insulting towards them, except, perhaps, at Sparta. The nobles had their lands cultivated either by hired freemen or by slaves, though the latter were more generally employed in domestic labours. The Greeks were at all times a frugal nation, especially during the heroic ages, and excesses in drinking are scarcely ever mentioned.

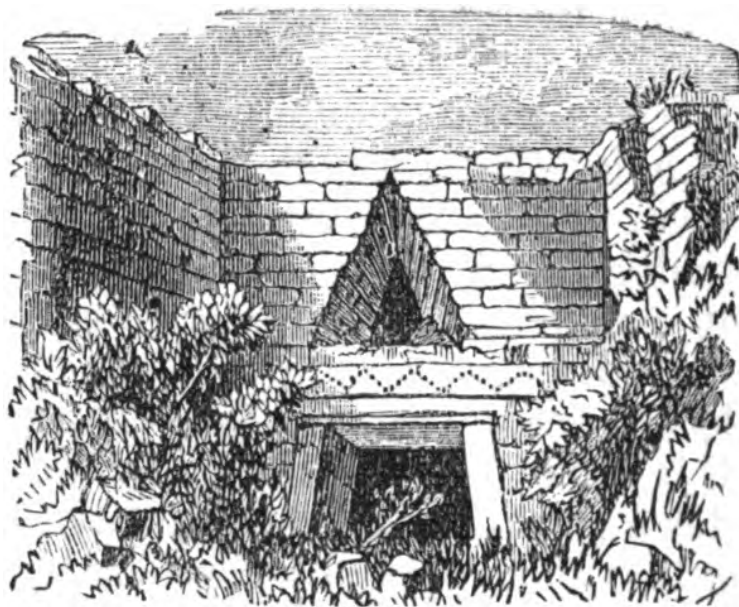
All commerce was carried on by barter, and money is not mentioned during the heroic period, though there seems to have been an abundance of gold and silver, and bronze and iron were in common use. Piracy was not looked upon as a dishonourable occupation, and was practised extensively. In the coast districts cattle and human beings were often carried off by pirates who sold the men as slaves; a man might even gain distinction and honour by displaying skill and valour as a pirate.

The arts most highly prized were those of war: the skilful use of arms, swiftness of foot, and a good loud voice. The geographical knowledge of this period was

limited to Greece, the surrounding islands, and the north-west coast of Asia Minor ; all other countries, even Italy and Sicily, seem to have been utterly unknown, and most marvellous tales were current about them and other neighbouring countries. Of literature we can hardly speak in those early ages, for although the art of writing is said to have been introduced into Greece at a very early period, it is nowhere mentioned in the stories that have come down to our time. But we have good reason for believing that there existed a considerable amount of ballad poetry, celebrating the deeds of the heroes, and hymns of praise to the gods. The Iliad itself is probably a collection of ballads of this kind, skilfully combined into one great epic poem by a later hand or hands. Homer, the reputed author of the Iliad and Odyssey, is commonly believed to have lived about B.C. 900. Hesiod, another poet who flourished somewhat later, employs a language very like that of his predecessor, but his subjects are very different, for he describes to us the origin of the gods and the peaceful pursuits of ordinary life. But both poets have greatly contributed towards fixing for all future time the ideas and conceptions about the Hellenic gods.



LION GATE OF MYKENÆ.



TREASURE HOUSE OF ATREUS.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE TROJAN TIMES TO THE CONQUEST OF MESSE니아 BY THE SPARTANS.

THE first century after the Trojan times was a period of migrations, one ever giving rise to another. It may here be observed that, although the Greeks throughout their country belonged to the same race, there yet were some important differences, not only in language, but also in the national character and the institutions of the various tribes. One very widely-spread branch of the nation was that of the Achæans, whom we meet with in Thessaly, and in a great part of Peloponnesus. Afterwards we find the nation divided into three great branches, the Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians, each of which occupied a distinct part of Hellas, and all of which traced their origin to a mythical ancestor of the name of Hellen. The Dorians, originally confined to a small district in the north-west of Mount Parnassus, were a hardy, warlike race, and their dialect was broad and harsh; the Ionians, whose dialect was soft and rich in vowels, were distinguished for their subtle intellect and spirit of enterprise; they represented the ever progressive principle, while the Dorians, being more conservative, remained in many respects stationary. The Ionians inhabited the western part of Greece, the north of Peloponnesus, and Attika.

The Æolians, both in regard to their dialect and their national character, formed a kind of intermediate tribe between the other two, but their dialect preserved the oldest forms of the language. As each of these three tribes passed through its own peculiar development almost independent of the others, their arts and literature also bore a distinct character, each tribe cultivating those powers with which Nature had specially endowed it, and which circumstances called into action. In Greece, therefore, we find no system of centralisation or uniformity, and the works of Greek genius display an almost unexampled richness and variety.

The first of the migrations we hear of occurred about sixty years after the fall of Troy. The Thessalians, a people dwelling in Epirus, came across the mountains into the country afterwards called after them Thessaly, and there reduced one part of the population to servitude, and compelled others to emigrate. Among the latter, the Bœotians migrated south, and took possession of the country henceforth called Bœotia. This latter country had until then been inhabited by Kadmeians and Minyans, but they being now driven from their homes, and being joined by Achæans from Peloponnesus, are said to have sailed to the north-west coast of Asia Minor, and there to have established a series of settlements known by the name of the *Æolian Colonies*.

Another migration of far greater importance was that of the *Dorians* into Peloponnesus, of which they conquered the greater and most fertile parts. This migration is commonly assigned to the year B.C. 1104. It is said to have arisen out of a claim set up by the descendants of Herakles upon the possession of a portion of Peloponnesus. The Dorians, who can have formed only a small portion of the immigrants, were joined by adventurers from Ætolia and other countries, and with their help gradually overpowered the original inhabitants of the peninsula, and either reduced them to a state of servitude, or forced them to seek a new home in other lands. Arkadia, the central highlands of Peloponnesus, alone re-

mained unconquered, and for a long time preserved its primitive Pelasgian character. The conquering chiefs divided the newly-acquired countries among themselves. Oxylos, an Ætolian who had guided the invaders, obtained for his share the country called Elis, which he governed with wisdom and moderation, depriving the original inhabitants of only a portion of their lands. Tisamenos, a grandson of Agamemnon, after having vainly attempted to obtain peaceful settlements among the Ionians in the north coast of Peloponnesus, waged a successful war against them, and expelled them from their country, of which he himself, with his Achæans, then took possession. That coast country thenceforward obtained the name of Achaia. The exiled Ionians sought and found a refuge among their kinsmen in Attika; but as the population of Attika thus became too large, considering the few fertile districts it contained, the Ionians were soon obliged to leave their place of refuge, and accompanied by other adventurers, emigrated to the coast of Asia Minor, where they founded a series of colonies to the south of those of the Æolians.

Meanwhile the Dorian chiefs in Peloponnesus continued to divide the conquered countries among themselves. Eurysthenes and Prokles, the twin sons of the Dorian chief Aristodemos, who had died during the conquest, obtained Lakonia; Kresphontes, Messenia; and Temenos, Argos. Eurysthenes and Prokles, who fixed their residence at Sparta, are said to have allowed the conquered Achæans the same rights as the conquering Dorians; but one of their successors reduced all the old inhabitants of the country to the condition of subjects, and the inhabitants of the town of Helos, who had resolutely defended their independence to the last, were conquered in the end, and reduced to a state of slavery, whence afterwards all the slaves in Lakonia are called Helots. These conquests are said to have taken place in a very short time, but there is sufficient evidence to show that many a town in Lakonia, Messenia, and elsewhere, defended its independence for a long time. The Dorians, however,

pushed their conquests farther, and a descendant of Herakles, of the name of Aletes, made himself master of Korinth and there established a new dynasty. During these wars of conquest, many parts of Peloponnesus had been laid waste, and thus compelled the conquerors to proceed to other parts. The taking of Korinth brought them to the confines of Attika, which was then governed by a king of the name of *Kodros*. Aletes led the invaders into Attika. An oracle had declared that the Dorians would be successful if they spared the life of the Athenian king. When the Athenians heard of this prophecy, their noble king at once resolved to sacrifice himself for his country. In the disguise of a woodman he went among the invaders, and slew one of them, whereupon the Dorians, who had witnessed the deed, rushed on and killed him. When it became known to them that they had slain the Athenian king, they were seized with terror, and withdrew their forces from Attika.

While Attika thus escaped falling into the hands of the Dorians, a portion of it, afterwards called Megara, was occupied by a Dorian colony from Korinth. The island of *Ægina* was likewise seized by the Dorians. A far more important conquest than these was that of the island of *Krete*. During the long troubles connected with the conquest of Peloponnesus, many Dorian adventurers, either dissatisfied with what they had got, or having been unable to obtain any share in the spoil, proceeded to the islands of Rhodes and Krete. In the latter they are said to have met with few obstacles, as they found the place almost depopulated by disease and famine. They were accordingly enabled to establish themselves unhindered, and to preserve their ancient national character and institutions. Although these institutions are commonly said to have been founded by the ancient king Minos, to make them appear more venerable, yet it is quite certain that they were brought in by the Dorians themselves, for in whatever parts of Greece the Dorians established themselves, we find the same or very similar

institutions as those of Krete. Their general outline is, that all the inhabitants of the country were divided into three classes, *freemen*, *perioeci*, and *slaves*, the last two being probably the descendants of the original inhabitants. The *perioeci* were obliged to live in open towns, and were personally free, but had to pay tribute to their Dorian rulers. All the powers of the government were in the hands of the Dorians. A great part of the land was taken from the original proprietors, and was either occupied by the Dorians themselves, or set apart as state property cultivated by public slaves. The Dorian rulers occupied themselves exclusively with the pursuit of war and the chase, while the land was tilled by the *perioeci* and the slaves. Krete itself was divided into several small states, each of which was governed by ten annually elected magistrates, bearing the title of Kosmoi, and at the end of their year of office they might become members of the senate, consisting of thirty men, and bearing the title of geronia or bulé. We also hear of a popular assembly consisting of all freemen who had attained a certain age, but this assembly does not seem to have had any other power but to give its assent to the measures which the government thought fit to bring before it.

One of the most striking features in the Kretan mode of life, though this, too, is found in other Doric states, was that all the Dorian freemen, old and young, took their meals together at public tables, and at the expense of the state. These meetings in Krete were called *andreia*, and in other Doric states, *syssitia*. Such a custom could not but keep up a strong *esprit de corps* among the freemen, and the young naturally imbibed the ideas of their elders. The education of boys was harsh and severe, and this also is a feature we meet with in all other Doric states.

In no country was the Doric character more firmly established and lasted longer than in *Lakonia*. A few centuries, indeed, elapsed before things were completely and peacefully settled, but *Sparta*, the capital of Lakonia, soon rose to the rank of the first city in Greece. Its laws

and political institutions are generally ascribed to the great lawgiver *Lykurgos*; but if we examine them and compare them with those of other Doric states, we find that their groundwork at least is the same as everywhere else, whence we must infer that *Lykurgos* probably did no more than collect and arrange in one code what had been the ancient usages of his countrymen. His history is anything but certain. The date generally assigned to his legislation is the year B.C. 884, but others place him more than 200 years earlier. Sparta was always governed by two kings, the descendants of *Eurysthenes* and *Prokles*, and *Lykurgos* was believed to have been connected with one of these royal houses. One of the kings, it is said, had died, and his widow wishing to marry *Lykurgos*, proposed to get rid of her son and secure the succession to *Lykurgos*. But the latter's sense of justice revolted at such a scheme, and in order to escape the importunities of the widow, and to secure the succession to the young prince, he left Sparta, and spent the best part of his life in foreign countries, where he gathered knowledge and information, until at last, urged by his countrymen, he returned. On his arrival he is said to have found Sparta in a state of the greatest disorder. The party favourable to him induced the Delphic oracle to declare him the wisest of mortals. Armed with this declaration, his friends easily persuaded their fellow-citizens to entrust the necessary reforms and legislation to him. He had still to contend with much opposition, but he nevertheless succeeded in enacting a series of laws by which the civil and military constitution of the state, the distribution of property, the education of the citizens, and the regulation of their daily life were fixed. When he had accomplished his work, he departed to Delphi, binding his fellow-citizens by a solemn oath not to make any change in his laws until his return. But he never did return, and the Delphic oracle declared that Sparta should flourish so long as it observed the laws of *Lykurgos*. By this means the immutable character of his laws was secured, and the person of the lawgiver was entirely lost

sight of, but the Spartans erected a temple in his honour, and worshipped him as a demi-god with annual sacrifices.

The legislation of Lykurgos forms an epoch in the history of Lakonia, for up to this time the country appears to have been in a state of utter confusion and anarchy; but there now followed a long period of order and settled government. The reforms introduced by the legislator influenced the whole country, and the public as well as the private life of its inhabitants, and what hitherto had been mere customs and usages, were now transformed into fixed laws, sanctioned and hallowed by the oracle of Delphi. One of the great objects of Lykurgos was to establish the sovereignty of Sparta over the whole of Lakonia, and to unite the Spartans among themselves as closely as possible. In order to put an end to the quarrels and disputes about the land, he is said to have made an entirely new division of all the landed property in the country. It may be mentioned here that the whole of Lakonia was not completely conquered by the Dorians till about a century after Lykurgos; but so far as they were then masters of it, he is said to have divided it into 39,000 lots, of which 9000 were assigned to the Spartans, and 30,000 to the free Lakonians scattered over the country. Another account assigns this division of landed property to a later period, when Messenia had become subject to Sparta.

It is but natural to suppose that the ruling Spartans retained the best parts of the land for themselves. We find the whole population divided into three classes: (1.) the Spartans or ruling Dorians; (2.) the slaves or Helots; and (3.) the subject people of Lakonia. The last consisted chiefly of the ancient Achæan inhabitants, who were obliged to live in open towns and villages, as the Dorians were in perpetual fear of their rising against them. They were personally free, but had no political rights; they had to bear the heaviest burdens, and to fight the battles of their rulers; but on the other hand they were in the undivided possession of all the trades and manufactures of the country, as the ruling Spartans

looked upon all such pursuits as degrading. The Helots were probably those of the ancient Achæans who had most resolutely defended their liberty, but being overpowered in the end, were reduced to a state of servitude. Their condition was more wretched than that of the slaves in any other part of Greece; they were looked upon with fear and jealousy, and often treated with inhuman cruelty to make them feel the contempt in which they were held, and to break their spirits. They were bound to the soil, and could not be sold into another country. They might, however, recover their freedom by zeal and industry, and as they always accompanied their masters in war, they might even enrich themselves by plunder.

The ruling Spartans had all equal rights, and formed a sort of aristocracy like that of the Roman patricians, and they alone constituted the really free citizens. As already observed, the Spartans were governed by two hereditary kings; and the constitution, approved as it had been by the oracle, remained the same down to the latest times, when its very spirit and soul had vanished. The popular assembly, in which, of course, the Spartans alone took part, was convened by the magistrates at stated times, but could only accept or reject the measures brought before it. There was also a senate consisting of twenty-eight, or, including the two kings, thirty members; it bore the name of *gerusia*—that is, assembly of elders. They were chosen by the kings, and none could become a member of the senate until he had completed his sixtieth year. The function of the senate was to prepare the measures which were to be brought before the people, and the country seems, in fact, to have been governed by that body and the two kings alone, until at a somewhat later period a magistracy, called the *ephors*, was instituted, whereby the powers of both the kings and the senate were considerably reduced. The kings originally had the supreme command of the armies; they were the high priests and supreme judges of the nation; they were revered as the chief magistrates, and as descendants of Herakles; they possessed extensive domains, and received

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certain payments in kind which enabled them to live in rather a sumptuous manner ; the ephors, about whose origin nothing certain is known, were five in number, and seem at first to have possessed a kind of civil jurisdiction among the Spartans, but, like the Roman tribunes, their powers gradually increased so much that they became the virtual rulers of the state.

A Spartan citizen lived only for the state ; his substance, time, strength, faculties, and affections were dedicated to its service, and its welfare and glory were his highest honour and happiness. As the Spartans formed a close aristocracy, their numbers gradually decreased, and as their property could not be sold, but always descended to the eldest son, or, in default of a son, to the eldest daughter, the landed property in the end accumulated in the hands of a few extremely wealthy proprietors. The Spartans were never allowed to coin money, and bars or pieces of iron continued to be their only legal currency down to the latest times. This rule, however, did not apply to the Lakonians, who were perfectly free in their commercial dealings with other states. Women were much more respected and honoured at Sparta than in other parts of Greece ; and the education of young men for the service of the state was conducted with great care, but all that was aimed at in their education was to train them as men who had to live in the midst of danger and difficulty, and should be as ready to obey as to command. Sickly or deformed children were exposed in the forests of Mount Taygetos. Martial poetry, however, and gymnastic exercises were held in high esteem.

From all this we see that the Spartan institutions were of a one-sided character, and scarcely deserved the high admiration which has often been bestowed upon them. The Spartans in all their movements were cautious and slow. War was their element, and the only service considered worthy of a Spartan was that of the heavy armed infantry. The Helots formed the light infantry, and Sparta never acquired any naval power until nearly 500 years after the time of Lykurgos.

The legislation of Lykurgos secured to Sparta a well regulated government and discipline; and when about 100 years later the whole of Lakonia was finally subdued, the Spartans might have enjoyed a period of repose and tranquillity. But their warlike spirit and the love of conquest fostered by so many years of warfare with the ancient Achæans, led them into a war with Argos for the possession of the eastern coast of Lakonia, which belonged to Argos, but was finally conquered by the Spartans.

A more important country which excited their jealousy and covetousness was *Messenia*, on the west of Lakonia, which was far more fertile and productive than their own. The Achæans in that country, moreover, being treated by their conquerors with greater mildness and gentleness than those in Lakonia, were a comparatively happy people, the conquerors and the conquered being united as one people, and all enjoying the same rights and privileges. The country, therefore, was prosperous, and as its inhabitants cultivated the arts of peace more than those of war, the Spartans thought it an easy matter to add that country to their dominions. A pretext for war was easily found. Frequent acts of hostility had been committed on both sides of the frontier, and a private wrong done by a Spartan to a Messenian led to the outbreak of a war between the two countries, which lasted from B.C. 743 to 724. The Spartans bound themselves by an oath not to lay down their arms until they had made themselves masters of the country; and invading it, they massacred the defenceless inhabitants, and established themselves in the town of Amphia, in the north-east of Messenia. The account we have of this war is full of poetical lays and popular traditions. But it seems certain that for several years the Spartans, sallying forth from Amphia, ravaged the country far and wide. The Messenians, who suffered severely, fortified themselves on Mount Ithome, and an oracle promised them the victory if they sacrificed a pure virgin to the infernal gods. Aristodemos, a noble Messenian, accordingly offered his daughter as a

victim ; and when the Spartans learned that the command of the oracle had been complied with, they were discouraged, and for a time stopped the war against their neighbours. After some years the Spartan king Theopompos again led an army into Messenia, and fought a great battle in which the Messenian king was killed. He was succeeded by the patriotic Aristodemos, who was extremely popular, governed his kingdom wisely, and entered into an alliance with the Arkadians. The war was continued by ravaging inroads, especially at the harvest time, when the Spartans destroyed the crops of the Messenians, and thus tried to reduce them by famine. At last, in the fifth year of the reign of Aristodemos, a pitched battle was fought at the foot of Mount Ithome, in which the Spartans suffered a great defeat. But in the end the Messenians lost heart in consequence of unfavourable oracles and several successful undertakings of the Spartans, and Aristodemos in despair put an end to his life. This untoward event deprived the Messenians of all hope, but not of their courage, and once more they made a vigorous sally from Mount Ithome. But when their brave leaders had fallen, the people fled from their fortress, leaving their lands in the possession of the conquerors, and the war was at an end.

The main body of the people dispersed to their homes, but many took refuge in foreign countries. The Spartans disposed of the land at their pleasure, and the Messenians, who remained in their homes, were reduced to the condition of serfs, and had to pay half the produce of their fields to their masters. This war led in B.C. 708 to the foundation of the town of *Tarentum* in southern Italy, the colonists being the offspring of marriages contracted between Spartans and Lakonians during the course of the Messenian war. The great rise in the power of the ephors also appears to belong to this period.

While Sparta was engaged against the Messenians, Argos, under its great king Pheidon, not only recovered the eastern coast district of Lakonia, but even conquered the island of Kythera. But fortune forsook Argos after

the death of Pheidon, and Sparta again became the mistress of the south of Peloponnesus from sea to sea. She was, however, not to enjoy her conquests undisturbed. The enslaved Messenians and their exiled countrymen burned with the desire to recover their freedom. Aristomenes, a noble Messenian of great valour, roused his countrymen into action, and formed alliances with Argos, Arkadia, and Elis. The Messenians took up arms and commenced a *second war*, which lasted from B.C. 685 to B.C. 668. The accounts of this war are even more mixed up with fables and poetical tales than the first, though the war itself is beyond all doubt. Aristomenes is said to have rallied his countrymen, and to have fought a great battle before assistance could come from Sparta ; but the victory was not decisive, though the Spartans were terror-struck by the unexpected insurrection. The Messenians wished to make Aristomenes their king, but he refused the crown, and one night he is said with extraordinary daring to have entered the city of Sparta, and to have dedicated a trophy in the temple of Athena. When the Spartans consulted the oracle of Delphi, the answer was, that they should seek an Athenian counsellor, and the Athenians sent them the warlike poet Tyrtæos to assist them in the war. The spirit of the Messenians was kept up by their exiled countrymen and by the soothsayer Theokles. In a great battle near Stenyklaros, the Spartans were completely routed, and for a time Messenia was freed from her enemies. Afterwards Aristomenes even carried the war into Lakonia, and ravaged towns and villages, until his progress was stopped by a wound. Some years later the Spartans gained a victory through the treachery of the Arkadians. Aristomenes then fortified himself on Mount Eira, where he was besieged by the enemy, who laid waste the surrounding country, though not without being perpetually harassed by the sallies of the Messenians. Aristomenes even made nocturnal expeditions into Lakonia, and after some successful enterprises of this kind, he at last fell with his companions into the hands of the Spartans, who treated

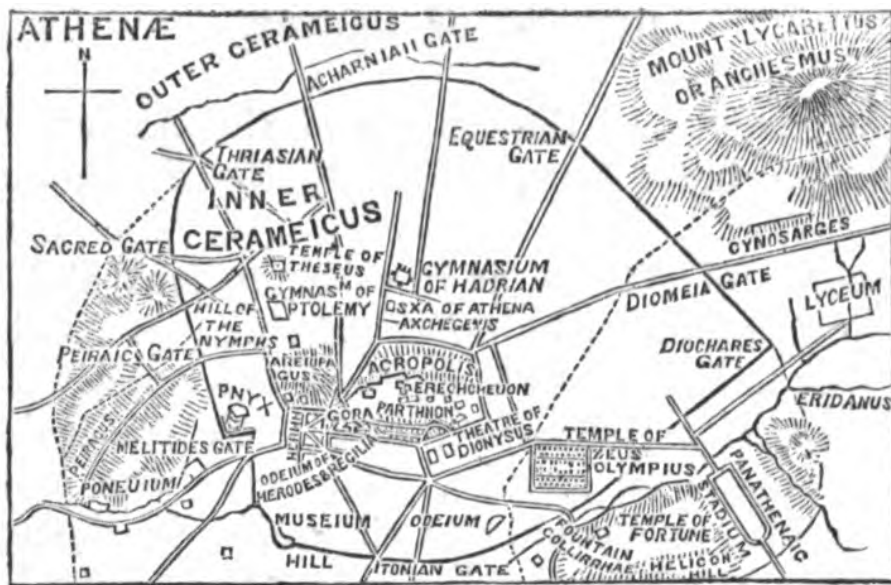
them like vile malefactors, and threw them into a deep pit, called the Keadas. But the life of Aristomenes was saved in a marvellous manner. He rejoined his men at Eira, and after many adventures and successes, he somehow or other incurred the anger of the gods. Eira had been besieged for eleven years, and was at last delivered by treachery into the hands of the besiegers. Aristomenes, with a few followers, had forced his way through the besiegers, and escaped into Arkadia, whence afterwards he invaded Lakonia, and was killed, sword in hand.

After this war all the Messenians remaining in the country were reduced to the condition of Helots; the rest emigrated, and some of them sailed to Rhegium in southern Italy, and then made themselves masters of the town of Zankle on the opposite coast of Sicily, which was henceforth called Messana (the modern Messina).

After the final conquest of Messenia, Sparta rapidly rose to a prominent position in Greece; she began to interfere in the affairs of other states, and to exercise a kind of supremacy, to which the smaller states, willingly or unwillingly, had to submit.



APOLLO.



CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF ATHENS DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

WHILE Sparta was conquering the south of Peloponnesus and extending her influence over nearly every part of Greece, the history of Athens presents little that is of interest or importance, except the internal struggles between the king and the nobles, and between the nobles and the commonalty (demos); when at length the commonalty gained its proper position in the state, and the government acquired a settled form, Athens, with unexampled rapidity, rose to such eminence as to eclipse all the other Greek states.

It has already been remarked that *Theseus* was regarded as the founder of the Athenian state. Before his time the country of Attika is said to have been divided into a number of small and independent communities, all of which were united by Theseus into one state, with Athens for its capital. He was, further, popularly regarded as the author of all the great political institutions of the country. In the constitution which he was believed to have framed, but which in all probability was the natural result of circumstances, the nobles, called Eupatridæ, had all equal rights; they alone possessed the powers of government, regulated the affairs of religion, and not only made, but also administered the laws. The commonalty, consisting of free husbandmen and artisans, was entirely

under the control of the king and the nobles, but the king, though hereditary, was only the first among the nobles.

The people of Attika, as in other ancient states, were divided into a number of *tribes* (*phylæ*); in Attika their number was four, and each of them was subdivided into three *fraternities* (*phratriæ*), and each fraternity into thirty *clans* (*gené* or *gentes*). The king was assisted in the government by a council of elders and by the assembly of the nobles, in which the demos was not allowed to take part. Wherever such a state of things exists, struggles between the ruling party and its subjects will break out sooner or later. In Athens the first struggles we hear of arose not between the nobles and the demos, but between the nobles and the king. Thus, after the death of the patriotic king Kodros, the nobles, taking advantage of disputes between his sons about the succession, abolished the title of king, substituting for it the less venerable name of *archon*, that is, ruler; the office, however, was allowed to remain hereditary in the family of Kodros, the nobles reserving for themselves the right of electing the *archon*. The person thus elected held the office for life; but the nobles, whose ambition was not satisfied with this, aimed at an equal share in the sovereignty, and after twelve archonships for life, in B.C. 752, they determined to limit the office to a period of ten years, though the *archon* still continued to be chosen from the descendants of Kodros. This new arrangement lasted only sixty-nine years, for in B.C. 683, the duration of the archonship was reduced to one year, and at the same time, the powers which until then had been exercised by the one *archon*, was now distributed among nine magistrates, so that henceforth a large number of the nobles had at least a chance of becoming partakers in the sovereignty. The first of these nine archons bore the title of *the archon*, and by his name the year was marked in the annals of the country. The second was styled *king-archon*, that name being retained for religious reasons, as he had to perform the religious functions which had formerly be-

longed to the king. The third archon, called *polemarchos*, had the command of the army; and the remaining six bore the common title of *thesmothetæ*, that is, expounders and administrators of the law.

These successive changes in the government of Athens are almost the only events in its history from the time of Kodros until the year B.C. 683. The condition of the demos, as might be supposed, was anything but happy under the rule of ambitious and selfish nobles who had long ceased to be controlled by the higher power of a king. Their oppression was felt more particularly in the administration of the law of which they were the sole makers and expounders; and as, moreover, the laws were not written, the nobles might exercise the greatest license in their explanation and administration. The necessity of a written code of laws was therefore felt more and more, and in B.C. 624, led to the appointment of *Drakon* for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws which all citizens might know. This step was a concession which the nobles had been compelled to make to the demos. But the laws drawn up by Drakon are said to have been of such severity, that an Athenian of later times declared them to have been written in blood. According to Drakon's view, it is said, all offences were equally deserving of death as their punishment. This character of his laws rendered him so unpopular that he was obliged to leave his country and take up his abode in the island of Ægina, where he died soon after.

A legislation like that of Drakon could not allay the discontent of the people, who were now, in fact, in that state of mind that they would have submitted to anything rather than to the arbitrary rule of the nobles. Some of the latter, not slow to perceive this, entered into a conspiracy with the object of raising *Kylon*, one of their number, to the position of *tyrannos*, that is, a person usurping the supreme power in a free state. This happened in B.C. 612. Tyrants were at that time springing up in several Greek states, and Kylon could rely both on the popular discontent and on the assistance of Theagenes,

tyrant of Megara. Before entering on any decisive step, Kylon consulted the oracle of Delphi, and its ambiguous answer led him to commence his operations on a wrong day. However, with the help of his supporters, he succeeded in seizing the akropolis or citadel of Athens, where he was besieged by his brother nobles, who assembled all the forces of the country against him. Kylon, being hard pressed and despairing of success, made his escape, and his followers were compelled to surrender to the archon *Megakles*, a son of Alkmæon, on condition that their lives should be spared. But the conquerors, in spite of this promise, slew the prisoners, and even killed some who had taken refuge at the altar of the Eumenides (Furies). As this sacrilege was committed with the sanction of Megakles, he and all his house were henceforth looked upon by the people with horror as accursed persons ; and the partisans of Kylon, no doubt, fostered this feeling towards their enemies. Every misfortune that henceforth fell upon Athens was declared to be a sign of the divine wrath at the crime of Megakles ; and if matters had been permitted to go on in this way, the result would undoubtedly have been a terrible civil war.

In these circumstances, the government as well as the people were anxious to find a man capable of allaying the ferment and remodelling the constitution in a manner satisfactory to all. That man was *Solon*, a descendant of the royal house of Kodros, who had visited many foreign lands, everywhere gathering information and forming friendships with the most illustrious persons of his age. He had returned to Athens soon after the suppression of the Kylonian conspiracy, and found his country internally distracted and so weak as to be unable to resist even its weakest neighbours. The Megarians had taken the island of Salamis from the Athenians ; and the latter, after many fruitless attempts to recover it, had given up all hope, and even threatened with severe punishment any one who should induce the people to renew the war. But Solon, who was also a great poet, contrived by a splendid poem once more to rouse the spirit of his countrymen. The

result was, that he himself was appointed commander of the Athenian forces, and in B.C. 604, he succeeded in driving the Megarians from Salamis. This victory greatly increased his power and influence, and, supported by the moderate party of the nobles, he prevailed upon Megakles and his associates to submit their case to a court of arbitration. The court found Megakles and his party guilty of sacrilege, and in B.C. 597, all the descendants of Alkmæon (the Alkmæonids) were sent into exile. As this was not thought sufficient to propitiate the anger of the gods, Solon invited Epimenides of Krete, a person who was universally regarded as a holy man, and as possessed of superhuman wisdom. By certain religious rites Epimenides purified the city to the satisfaction of all, and then returned to his native island.

When the minds of the people were thus freed from their superstitious fears, Solon was elected archon for the year B.C. 594, and with the consent of all parties, he received full authority to draw up a new constitution and a code of laws. In order to understand his legislation, it is necessary to cast a glance at the condition in which he found his country. Many of the agricultural population had been reduced to a state of absolute dependence on their lords; political rights they had probably none at all; and the law of debt was so severe, that the debtor, when unable to pay his creditor, might be seized and sold as a slave into a foreign country. Those who suffered under such a system were naturally eager for any change, while the nobles wished to keep things as they were. The shepherds and poor peasants of the hilly districts, though less suffering, were equally anxious for a change that should secure them against the rapacity of their oppressors. The men of the coast, mostly merchants and traders, were indeed averse to violent measures, but still joined the rest in demanding such reforms as would put an end to all reasonable complaints. The task, therefore, which Solon had to undertake, was of a twofold nature: he had first to relieve the existing distress of the commonalty, and secondly to enact such laws as would

prevent the recurrence of the same or similar evils. His first measures, accordingly, freed the debtors of a portion of their debts, without causing any very serious loss to creditors, to restore the pledged lands to their owners, and to forbid creditors to seize and sell the persons of their debtors.

Having settled these most urgent matters, he abolished the laws of Drakon, recalled a number of exiles, probably including the family of Megakles, and made some regulations about foreigners, many of whom had taken up their abode in Attika. The settlement of these minor matters was followed by the remodelling of the constitution. Hitherto, birth alone had determined a man's rights and privileges, but Solon now made landed property, or rather the produce of such property, the standard by which his rights and duties were fixed. For this purpose, he divided the whole population of Attika into four classes, the first three being landed proprietors possessing more or less productive estates; the fourth class, called thetes, seem to have consisted for the most part of free labourers and artisans. The great offices of state were made accessible only to the members of the first or wealthiest class, while minor offices could, no doubt, be held by men of the second and third classes. The wealthier a man was, the heavier were his duties. Thus the men of the second class formed the cavalry, those of the third the heavy-armed infantry, and those of the fourth served only as light infantry, and at a later period as marines in the navy. Such a change, though most important in principle, at first left things much the same as they had been before; but a man of talent and industry might, in the course of time, rise from a lower to a higher class, and thereby become capable of holding the highest offices in the state. In the popular assembly, moreover, the members of all the classes appeared on a footing of perfect equality, and its power henceforth was not limited to accepting or rejecting the measures that were brought before it, but it might amend or modify them as it thought fit; and every man who had attained

the age of twenty, was allowed to speak and express his opinions upon all questions. The new constitution allowed the magistrates the same powers which they had had before, but they were made responsible for their acts to the assembled people, and an appeal from their judicial verdicts was left open to a numerous popular court called the *Heliaæa*.

While Solon thus made the democratic element very strong, he at the same time checked its power by establishing a *senate* of 400 members, to which no man under thirty was eligible, and for which a certain property qualification was required. The senators held their dignity for only one year, at the end of which they were liable to be called upon to render an account of their conduct. The chief business of the senate was to prepare the measures which were to be brought before the assembled people, though this was by no means its only function. The second court, likewise intended to check the power of the demos, was that of the *Areiopagos*, which is indeed said to have existed even in mythical times, but seems to have been newly organised by Solon, and to have been invested with political powers. It is well known that it took cognisance of murder, maiming, poisoning, and arson.

Solon, fully aware that no reform, however good and useful, can be final, but must be modified from time to time according to altered circumstances, provided that the laws should be periodically examined and improved. His legislation, like that of all ancient lawgivers, undertook to regulate the private life of the citizens as well as the affairs of the state; hence we find Solon laying down rules for the education of the young, and making very stringent regulations regarding women, whose education was rather discouraged than otherwise. The state of the Athenian navy also engaged his attention, and the citizens were bound, at their own expense, to equip a fleet of forty-eight galleys. Commerce and manufactures were encouraged by inducing foreigners to settle in Attika, many of whom received the franchise, while others en-

joyed the protection of the law on paying a small alien tax. Slavery continued to exist in Attika as before, though the slaves were never so harshly treated as in other parts of Greece, especially at Sparta.

After the completion of his legislation, Solon is said to have left Athens, and to have travelled in foreign countries for a period of ten years, and to have become acquainted with Kræsus, king of Lydia, whose pride he is reported to have tried to subdue, by telling him that no man should boast of being happy until he had reached the last day of his life. On his return to Athens, about B.C. 562, he found that his country was again distracted by factions, and that his own great work was in danger of being destroyed. The people were divided into three parties, each headed by one of the nobles : they were the parties of the plain, the hills, and the coast. The leader of the last was *Peisistratos*, a friend and kinsman of Solon. The lawgiver did all he could to bring about a reconciliation, but it was of no avail ; and *Peisistratos*, a man of great ambition and eloquence, had determined to make himself tyrant of Athens. He acted the part of a friend of the people, and one day exhibited some self-inflicted wounds, declaring that he had been assailed by his enemies, because he was an advocate of the rights of the people. By this stratagem, he prevailed upon the people to grant him a body-guard for the protection of his person, and with this force he took possession of the akropolis. *Megakles*, one of his rivals, quitted the city, while the other, *Lykurgos*, quietly submitted to the authority of the usurper. This happened in B.C. 560.

Peisistratos continued to conduct himself as a simple citizen, avoiding all outward display of his real power. Solon died soon after ; and *Lykurgos*, allying himself with *Megakles*, succeeded in driving *Peisistratos* from Athens, his tyrannis having lasted little more than one year. The two confederates now exercised the same power as *Peisistratos* had done before, but each was jealous of the other, and only thought of how he might get rid of him. *Megakles*, finding this state of affairs intolerable, now

entered into negotiations with the exiled Peisistratos, promising to do everything in his power to restore him to his position, and even gave him his daughter in marriage. Peisistratos was brought back to Athens in a manner calculated to work upon the superstitious feelings of the multitude, for he entered the city in a chariot, having by his side a woman dressed up as Athena, the tutelary deity of Athens. However, the friendship between the two confederates did not last long, for Megakles, thinking himself insulted by Peisistratos, now formed an alliance with Lykurgos, and Peisistratos was again driven out of Athens. He went to Eretria in Eubœa, where he would have spent the remainder of his life in peace, had not his eldest son, Hippias, urged him on to fresh efforts. He accordingly made preparations for invading Attika, and formed connections with tyrants in other parts of Greece. After an exile of ten years, he landed with an army at Marathon. His enemies, whose government had not been particularly popular, marched out to meet him, but were utterly defeated. Peisistratos at once proclaimed an amnesty on condition that his enemies should quietly disperse. This act disarmed all further opposition, and Peisistratos now entered Athens as undisputed master, while his rivals Lykurgos and Megakles had to go into exile.

Peisistratos now adopted every means permanently to secure his usurped power; he surrounded himself with a body of foreign mercenaries, and sent the children of his adversaries as hostages to the island of Naxos. At the same time he gained the goodwill of the poorer classes by affording them occupation in the erection of many public works, both useful and ornamental. By these and other means, he maintained his position without any further interruption for fourteen years, until his death in B.C. 527. Still he was not unmindful of what might happen, and in order to secure a place of refuge in case of need, he gave the town of Sigeum, which he took from the Mityleneans, to a natural son. In his administration he maintained the laws of Solon. The expenses incurred by

the erection of temples and public buildings were defrayed by means of taxes levied on the wealthy for the purpose of benefiting the poorer citizens. It is further stated, that he was the first to collect the Homeric poems ; he certainly had a taste for literature, for he was the first Greek who established a public library. Taking all in all, it must be owned that he made good use of his usurped power ; and there are few citizens to whom Athens owed a greater debt of gratitude.

The mild rule of Peisistratos had become so popular among the Athenians, that his three sons were allowed, without hesitation, to exercise the same power as their father. Had they been as wise as he, and remembered that they held only a usurped power, Athens might for generations have been quietly governed by the descendants of Peisistratos. *Hippias*, the eldest, was at the head of affairs, and neither he nor his brothers scrupled to resort to violent measures against those whose enmity or influence they feared. At last an event occurred, which led to the overthrow of the government, and an important change in the constitution. *Harmodios*, a young Athenian, had been insulted by Hipparchos, one of the three brothers, and being joined by his friend *Aristogeiton*, he determined to have his revenge. The two resolved to overthrow the Peisistratids, and the festival of the Panathenæa was fixed upon as the day for carrying out their design. It was in the year B.C. 514, that the two conspirators with their friends, during the solemn procession, attacked the sons of Peisistratos. Hipparchos was killed in the fray, but Harmodios also fell ; and Aristogeiton, with many of his friends, was arrested and put to death. After this occurrence, which revealed to Hippias the unpopularity of his family, he was tortured by fear and suspicion, which led him to put to death many whom he suspected, and to increase the taxes for the sake of augmenting his personal revenue. He also tried to strengthen himself by alliances with other tyrants, and gave his daughter in marriage to the tyrant of Lampsakos, a friend of the King of Persia.

But all was of no avail ; Hippias became daily more unpopular, and the exiled Alkmæonids, perceiving this, determined to return to their country and drive out their rivals. *Kleisthenes*, who now headed their party, secured the support of the Delphic oracle, by extraordinary liberality ; and whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, they were told that they must free Athens from its tyrants. These repeated commands at length induced the Spartans to send an army into Attika. The mercenaries of Hippias were defeated, and, alarmed by this misfortune, he sent his children out of the country, but they fell into the hands of the Spartans, who consented to restore them only on condition of Hippias quitting Attika. The demand was complied with, and in B.C. 510, Hippias proceeded to Sigeum, and all the members of the family of Peisistratos were banished for ever, while Harmodios and Aristogeiton received almost divine honours as the liberators of their country.

Kleisthenes, who thus rose to the head of affairs, like Peisistratos, attached himself to the popular party, and planned a reform of the constitution, which was to break the power of the nobles for ever. With the consent of the commonalty, and the sanction of the Delphic oracle, he abolished the four ancient tribes, and divided the whole of Attika into ten districts, also called *tribes*, each of which was subdivided into a number of *demi*, each with a town or village for its centre, and each *demos* was governed by a magistrate called *demarchos*. No one could be an Athenian citizen unless he was a member of one of these *demi*. The commonalty thus obtained an entirely new organisation, and was enabled to shake off the yoke of the nobles. The *senate* was increased from 400 to 500, and thus became the representative of the ten tribes, each furnishing fifty members. The *popular assembly* henceforth met regularly four times in every month. Kleisthenes is further said to have established the process of *ostracism*, whereby any person might be sent into exile, who by his influence and popularity, seemed to be dangerous to popular liberty.

The nobles naturally looked upon these reforms as revolutionary, and contrived to win over the Spartans, who at all times supported an aristocratic against a democratic government. They accordingly sent a message, demanding of the Athenians to banish the accursed race of the Alkmæonids; and Kleisthenes, in order not to involve his country in a war with the powerful state of Sparta, withdrew from Athens. But the Spartan king, not satisfied with this, and bent upon raising Isagoras, the bitterest opponent of Kleisthenes, to the tyranny, invaded Attika, banished 700 families marked out by Isagoras, and was making arrangements for putting the government of the country into the hands of a few nobles. But this scheme was resisted by the people of Athens with all their might, and the Spartan king and his adherents were besieged in the akropolis. After a few days they were obliged to surrender, but the king and Isagoras were allowed to depart unmolested, while their Athenian partisans were put to death, and Kleisthenes returned to Athens in triumph, B.C. 508.

The Spartan king, deeply vexed at this defeat, formed alliances with the Bœotians, Corinthians, and Chalkidians, and determined to invade Attika a second time; but as the Corinthians felt ashamed of what they were expected to do, and refused to join in the expedition, the undertaking had to be given up. The Athenians in their distress had endeavoured in vain to obtain the assistance of Persia; but when their enemies had withdrawn, they set about chastising the Bœotians and Chalkidians, against both of whom they were successful; and Athens, being now freed from domestic and foreign enemies, became strong and powerful in the enjoyment of political freedom, and made such rapid progress that soon she outstripped all her rivals.

Her foreign enemies, however, were only hushed for a time; the Bœotians were secretly burning with the desire to avenge their defeat, and for this purpose allied themselves with the island of Ægina, an ancient enemy of Athens, and possessed of a powerful navy. The war

which was thus commenced, taught the Athenians the necessity of increasing their fleet; it lasted for about fifty years, until in B.C. 456, Ægina was conquered, and its navy destroyed.

Meanwhile the Spartans, who had discovered that they had been imposed upon by the Delphic oracle, which had induced them to assist in the expulsion of the Peisistratids, invited Hippias to return. A congress of Sparta and all her allies, was called upon to consider the means by which the return of Hippias might be effected. At this congress the Corinthian envoy declared that it was an unworthy proceeding to impose a tyrant upon a free people, and his eloquence was so impressive that all the other deputies declared against the scheme, which had therefore to be abandoned. Soon after this Hippias went to the court of Persia, and endeavoured to stir up its king to a war against his own country.



ATHENA.



ATHENIAN COIN.

CHAPTER V.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—COLONIES—LITERATURE DOWN TO THE PERSIAN WARS.

BEFORE proceeding to give an account of the momentous struggle between Europe and Asia, which was to decide whether the south-east of Europe was to remain free or become a province of an Asiatic empire, we will cast a glance at some of the national institutions of the Greeks, their numerous colonies, and the progress of literature since the days of Homer.

It has already been observed that the Greeks at no time formed one compact state, and that the country was divided into a number of small states, among which Sparta, after the Dorian conquest, became the largest and most influential. The only bond of union among them was their language and their religion, though even these presented considerable differences in the different parts of the country. But there existed from early times certain associations for religious, and in part also for political, purposes, which acquired at least the appearance of national confederations. The most important of them bore the name of *Amphiktyonies*—that is, unions of several tribes with a common centre, generally a temple, at which meetings were held at stated times. The most celebrated was the Amphiktyony of Delphi, which held its meetings in the spring at Delphi, and in the autumn at Thermopylæ. Its objects were to guard the temple of

Delphi, and to prevent cruelty and violence in war ; but this latter object appears to have been completely lost sight of, for we hear of cases in which the members of the league inflicted on each other the worst evils of war. Thus the town of Krissa, which had deserved the censure of its confederates, was punished by a war which lasted for ten years, at the end of which, in B.C. 585, it was razed to the ground, while its harbour was choked up, and the surrounding country changed into a wilderness.

A second class of national institutions consisted of festive games, celebrated at certain places and at fixed times, and open to all the Greeks in whatever part of the world they lived. The most famous among them were the *Olympic Games*, which were celebrated every four years at Olympia in Elis. They are said to have existed at a very early period, and after a long interruption to have been renewed in B.C. 776, after which time they were regularly held every four years, and that date was employed by the Greeks as a chronological era. During the days of these games there was a cessation of all hostilities among the Greeks, to enable them to proceed to Olympia without fear or danger. The games consisted of races on foot, and with horses and chariots, contests in leaping, wrestling, and boxing ; but combats with weapons were strictly excluded. Nearly every kind of bodily skill and activity was displayed in those games, and to gain a victory in any of the contests was regarded as the highest honour not only to the victor himself, but to the whole community to which he belonged, though the prize consisted in a simple garland of the wild olive. The arts of poetry and sculpture received strong nourishment at these exhibitions, for the victory often inspired a poet to lofty lyric effusions, as in the case of Pindar ; and statues of the victors were often erected, not only at Olympia, but also in their native places. Literary productions also are said to have been occasionally recited at these gatherings to the assembled Greeks. However, although all Greeks might take part in the games, the feeling of national unity does not appear to have been

created by them, but they seem, on the contrary, to have tended rather to foster a narrow local patriotism.

The form of government universally established in the earliest times was that of monarchy, limited by ancient custom, and by powerful chiefs or nobles. But during the three or four centuries after the Trojan war, the title of king was abolished in nearly all parts of Greece, and in every case the power of the nobles was increased, and took the place of that of the kings. The causes of this change must be looked for mainly in the energy and versatility of the Greek mind, which prevented the people from becoming stationary, or stopping short in any career before it had passed through every stage of it. The change was rarely brought about by a revolution, but was generally effected by a succession of reforms which gradually placed all the powers in the hands of the nobles. The great body of the people, the commonalty, continued to increase in number; while the nobles, in consequence of their exclusiveness, were ever decreasing, and everywhere endeavoured by force and violence to keep the commonalty in subjection, and check its growth. But all their endeavours were vain. It sometimes became necessary to make a compromise with the commonalty, or to appoint some person in whom all had confidence, to restore order and tranquillity. We have seen how in Attika the power of the aristocracy was overthrown by dissensions among themselves, and how one of their body, by coming forward as a champion of the commonalty, raised himself to the position of tyrant; and what happened at Athens was more or less the same as what occurred in other states of Greece.

• We have already related how, in consequence of the migrations in Greece, three large groups of colonies were founded on the west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. But the restless and migratory spirit of the Greeks did not stop short there. The countries which next attracted their attention were the south of Italy, which, on account of its numerous Greek colonies,

obtained the name of *Magna Græcia*, and the island of Sicily. The country of Kyrene, on the north coast of Africa, also received Greek colonists; and even the south coasts of France and Spain, as well as the shores of the *Ægæan*, the *Propontis*, and the *Euxine*, were covered with Greek settlements. In short, there was scarcely a country round the basin of the Mediterranean that was not influenced and benefited by the mild genius of Greek culture and civilisation; and many of the more prosperous colonies became the founders of others far away from the mother country.

Many of the Greek colonies, such as the Ionians in Asia Minor, made even more rapid progress in literature and the arts of peace than the Greeks in the mother country. It was in Ionia that temples of great splendour were erected at an early period, and that the art of casting metal statues was invented. Sculpture in marble came into extensive use in consequence of its connection with architecture, the temples and other public buildings being sumptuously adorned with statues and figures in relief. The custom of honouring victors in the public games with statues, likewise contributed greatly towards the rapid advancement of the art of sculpture, in which the Greeks have never been surpassed by any other nation.

The development of literature after the days of Homer steadily continued, and the epic poetry of that age embraced the whole of the legendary history from the origin of the world to the close of the heroic age. Lyric poetry also was no doubt cultivated at a very early period, though we have no specimens of it as ancient as Homer; when, however, epic poetry was dying out, it rapidly reached its highest perfection. But unfortunately all the works of the Greek lyric poets have perished, except the odes of Pindar.

The few fragments we possess of this species of poetry are sufficient to justify the admiration in which they were held by the Greeks themselves. Lyric poetry among the Dorians and *Æolians* was chiefly of a religious,

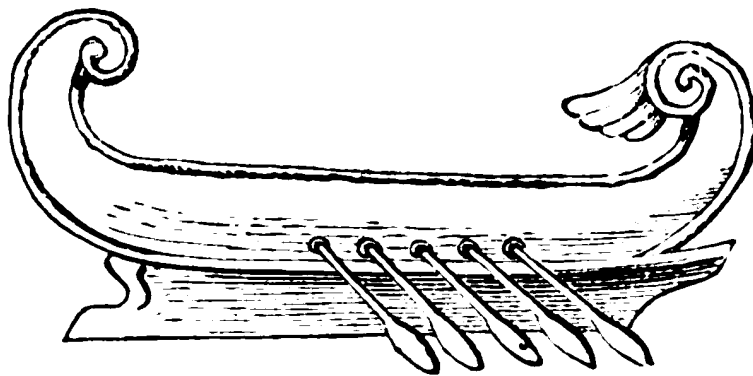
martial, or political character, while with the others it was more of a sentimental nature. The most illustrious among the lyric poets were *Archilochos*, *Hipponax*, *Alkæos*, *Anakreon*, *Ibykos*, *Mimnermos*, and *Sappho*. Literature in prose did not commence till about the beginning of the Persian wars.

The religion and poetry of the Greeks amply testify that, from the earliest times, they were of an inquisitive disposition, trying to fathom the profoundest and sublimest problems. About the middle of the sixth century a number of men are mentioned, called the Seven Sages, who were not speculative philosophers, but men actively engaged as statesmen, legislators, or magistrates. About the same time, some of the bolder spirits were led to inquire after a first cause of the phenomena of the universe. The most ancient among them was *Thales*, of Miletus, a contemporary of Solon, who maintained that moisture was the origin of all things. He was succeeded by his countryman, *Anaximenes*, who taught that air was the universal source of life; while *Herakleitos*, of Ephesus, attributed the same power to heat. We thus see that these infant philosophers attempted to solve problems which still baffle philosophers of our own time. Another school of philosophy arose at Elea, in the south of Italy, the founder of which, *Xenophanes*, based his system upon the assumption of a supreme intelligence; while his successors struck out into new paths of inquiry. It is remarkable that these Eleatic philosophers expounded their systems in verse. The most celebrated of the western schools of philosophy was that founded by *Pythagoras*, of Samos, about B.C. 570. He is said to have been the first to assume the title of philosopher—that is, lover of wisdom. He was great as a mathematician, and several mathematical discoveries are attributed to him. He also taught the immortality of the soul in the form of transmigration, similar to that maintained by the Indian Brahmins. He is said to have much travelled in foreign countries, and on his return to have settled at Kroton, in Italy, where he formed a society of the

noblest young men, through whom he hoped to exercise an influence over all the Greek colonies in Italy, and to establish an aristocratic or oligarchic form of government. But this scheme failed; the commonalty rose against the selfishness of the nobles, and the house in which the followers of Pythagoras were assembled was destroyed by fire in B.C. 504, when many of them perished. Pythagoras himself is said to have escaped to Metapontum, and to have died there soon after. The overthrow of the Pythagoræans was followed in all the towns of southern Italy by the establishment of democratic forms of government.



OLYMPIAN ZEUS.



A GREEK SHIP.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PERSIAN WARS DOWN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

THE Greek colonies along the coasts of Asia Minor were exposed to the danger of being attacked and subdued by the great despotic monarchies of the East. The kingdom that was nearest to them was that of Lydia, whose kings conquered, one after another, the Greek cities; and in the reign of Kroesus, the last Lydian king, all had to acknowledge his authority. But he had a great love and admiration of the Greeks, and allowed the cities to manage their own affairs very much as they pleased, so that they felt his rule scarcely in anything else than the necessity of paying tribute to him. Kroesus himself at last became involved in a war with Kyros, the founder of the Persian monarchy, who made Kroesus his captive, and himself master of Lydia, including the Greek colonies, B.C. 546. The Greek cities would have readily submitted to their new conqueror, if he had granted them the same terms as Kroesus had done; but as he demanded unconditional surrender, they resolved to resist him. Some seeing that they could not hope to be successful in the unequal struggle, emigrated with all they possessed to distant shores, establishing themselves at Massilia (Marseilles) and Rhegium (Reggio), and at Abdera in Thrace. The rest of the Asiatic Greeks were subdued, one after another, by the lieutenants of Kyros, and had

to acknowledge the supremacy of Persia. But the rule of the new masters does not appear to have been much more oppressive than that of the Lydians; for they, too, did not much interfere with the Greeks, so long as they paid their tribute regularly. The Asiatic Greeks therefore continued, without much molestation from Persia, to live in peace and prosperity until the reign of Darius, the third Persian king, when they allowed themselves to be enticed by an unprincipled adventurer into open rebellion against their rulers, and thereby also involved the mother country in a war with Persia.

During a gigantic expedition against the Scythians, in the plains between the Danube and the Don, King Darius and his army had been saved by *Histiæos*, a Greek tyrant of Miletus, and on his return home the king had rewarded him by giving him a large tract of country on the river Strymon in Thrace, while *Aristagoras*, a cousin of *Histiæos*, succeeded him as tyrant of Miletus. Meanwhile the lieutenants of Darius conquered Thrace, and reduced the Greek colonies on its coast, together with the neighbouring islands. Even Amyntas, king of Macedonia, did homage to Persia, whose king does not seem as yet to have entertained any thought of making himself master of Greece; he pursued his conquests in the East; and about the year B.C. 505, his empire extended from the borders of India to the Ægæan Sea, including Thrace and Macedonia.

Meanwhile *Histiæos* drew upon himself the suspicion of trying to form for himself an independent principality in Thrace; and Darius, to thwart this scheme, invited him to come to Persia, pretending that it was his desire to have such a valuable friend near his person. But *Histiæos* soon discovered that in reality he was kept in Persia as a captive. He could discover no means of escaping except by an insurrection of his countrymen, for which there appeared just then a favourable opportunity.

The assistance of his cousin *Aristagoras* had been sought by the aristocratic party of the island of Naxos,

who had been expelled by the people ; and believing that this circumstance afforded him a fair chance of making himself master of the island, he applied for aid to Artaphernes, the king's satrap or governor of Western Asia. The satrap being told that the island might easily be conquered, and that Aristagoras would bear all the expenses, a large fleet under a Persian admiral was placed at the disposal of Aristagoras, and all seemed to promise well. But soon a quarrel arose between Aristagoras and the admiral, and the latter avenged himself by giving the Naxians warning of their danger. The consequence was the utter failure of the undertaking, and Aristagoras had to return to Miletus without having effected anything. As he was now unable to make good his promise, he knew that his doom was sealed. While pondering what he should do to save himself, he received a message from Histiaeos, who was utterly disgusted with his captivity. Aristagoras assembled all those whom he knew to be dissatisfied with the rule of Persia, to deliberate about the manner in which they might shake off the detested yoke ; and in order to make himself popular among his countrymen, he not only resigned his own tyrannis, but caused the tyrants of other cities who were friendly to Persia to be arrested.

Having gone thus far, Aristagoras resolved to seek the assistance of the Greeks of the mother country. He first applied to Sparta, where by large promises he was on the point of gaining his end, when the king, warned by his little daughter, declined having anything to do with the matter. He was more successful at Athens, where it had become known that the Persian king intended to reinstate the exiled tyrant Hippias. The Athenian people resolved to send a fleet of twenty ships to support their Asiatic kinsmen. The little squadron, accompanied by five galleys from Eretria in Euboea, set sail in B.C. 499, and being strengthened on their arrival in Asia by many Ionians, they marched straightway against Sardes. The Persian governor of the place took refuge in the strong citadel. The Greeks then plundered the lower

city and set it on fire, and being unable to take the citadel, they returned to Ephesus. Contrary to their expectations, they were pursued by the Persian satrap, who had assembled a large force, and utterly defeated them in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, whereupon the Ionians dispersed, and the Athenians and Eretrians returned home.

When Darius was informed of this, he was thrown into a violent passion, more on account of the presumption of the obscure strangers who had supported his rebellious subjects than by anything else, and he commanded one of his slaves daily to remind him of the Athenians. Meanwhile the insurrection of the Ionians was spreading more and more; and Histiaëos cunningly prevailed upon the king to send him down to Ionia, which he promised to quiet without difficulty. The Persian generals reduced the revolted cities one after another; and when Aristagoras despaired of success, he withdrew into Thrace, where soon afterwards he was murdered. Histiaëos, on his arrival in Asia Minor, was suspected of having had a hand in the revolt, and hence thought it advisable to escape to the island of Chios, where he formed the plan of putting himself at the head of the Greeks; but being universally distrusted, he led for a time the life of a homeless adventurer. At last he collected a small fleet with which he levied black-mail on all the merchant ships of the cities which refused to recognise him as the sovereign of Ionia.

The rebellion of the Ionians was in the meantime drawing to its close. The Greeks were disunited among themselves, and were defeated in B.C. 494; and the year following saw all the Greek cities brought back under the Persian sway, but in some instances the inhabitants, from fear of the conquerors, left their homes and established themselves at Mesembria on the coast of the Euxine.

After this unsuccessful insurrection, the Asiatic Greeks were treated with much greater severity than before; order and peace were restored, but their freedom was

gone. Mardonius, the successor of Artaphernes, however, somewhat relaxed the severity, but at the same time he had orders to chastise Athens and Eretria for their presumption. A large fleet was sent out against them, but was overtaken by a violent storm near Mount Athos, in which 300 ships and 20,000 men are said to have perished ; while the land army, commanded by Mardonius himself, was attacked on its march through Thrace, and suffered such great losses that Mardonius thought it best to return to Asia. These disasters, however, did not shake the determination of Darius. He assembled fresh forces and sent heralds to the chief cities of Greece to demand earth and water, the customary signs of submission. At Athens and Sparta the envoys were put to death, but Ægina and several other islands and cities complied with the demand, in consequence of which the Athenians charged Ægina at Sparta with high treason against the cause of Greece. The Spartans then sent a force against the Æginetans, who were compelled to deliver up ten of their leading men as hostages to the Athenians. This led to a succession of acts of hostility between Athens and Ægina, while the Persians were making preparations for invading Europe.

In B.C. 490 a large Persian fleet assembled in Kilikia under the command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, and having taken the army on board, sailed towards Eubœa, compelling the islands during its progress to submission. On the arrival of the Persians at Eretria, the town was besieged, and as some traitors in the place opened the gates to the enemy, Eretria was plundered and set on fire, while its inhabitants were taken prisoners and transported as slaves into Asia.

After this the whole fleet, guided by Hippias, sailed towards the coast of Attika, and the army was landed on the plain of *Marathon*. As soon as this became known at Athens, all men capable of bearing arms, and even slaves willing to earn their liberty, declared their readiness to defend the country. A messenger was at the same time sent to Sparta to solicit assistance against the common

foe. But the Spartans, feeling themselves pretty secure, dismissed him with promises of future help, alleging some superstitious reason for their not setting out at once. The Athenians, undismayed by this want of sympathy, resolved to attack the invaders, having no other allies than a body of Platæans, their ancient friends. The army was commanded by ten generals, one of whom was *Miltiades*, but the polemarchus *Kallimachos* was at their head. A discussion arose among them as to whether battle should be given at once, or whether they should wait for the arrival of the Spartans. *Miltiades*, seeing the danger of delay, convinced his colleagues of the necessity of attacking the enemy at once. When the signal was given, the Athenians rushed with irresistible force upon the barbarians, who at first looked with contempt upon the small number of their assailants. But they soon found themselves in close combat, and by the skilful management of *Miltiades* they were utterly routed and defeated. They fled in the utmost confusion back to the shore, and thousands of them perished either in the battle, or in the marshes, or in the attempt to reach their ships. The Persian fleet then sailed southward, with the intention of doubling Cape Sunion and attacking Attika from the west. But the Athenians, who had foreseen this, promptly moved towards the point of danger, so that when the Persian fleet arrived, the Athenians were ready to receive the enemy. Thus baffled in their expectation, they gave up all further attempts against Greece and returned to Asia, B.C. 490.

The battle of Marathon, in which the Athenians almost single-handed had defeated a countless host of barbarians, filled their minds with a noble and just pride, and made them conscious of their own strength. When the battle was over, the Spartans arrived with a small force, but it was too late, and they had to return home with a feeling of shame that they had not done their duty, and had no share in the glorious achievement which saved Greece from becoming a province of an Asiatic despotism. The fate of *Miltiades*, who had led

his army to victory, was a sad one, but probably not undeserved. Elated by his success, he prevailed upon his countrymen to furnish him with a considerable fleet, with which he promised to increase their dominions. But his real object was the chastisement of some private enemy. In this he failed, and being moreover wounded in the knee, he was obliged to return home without having effected anything. Being accused of having led the people into useless expenses, he was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents (about £9000); and as he was unable to raise that sum, he was thrown into prison, where soon after he died of his wound.

The defeat sustained by the Persians at Marathon only incited their king to greater exertions, for he believed that the misfortune was owing only to his having sent insufficient forces into Europe; he therefore now resolved to make the Greeks feel the whole weight of his arm. For three years preparations were made throughout his vast dominions, when suddenly his attention was diverted by an insurrection of Egypt, which was then a Persian province, and before he was able to suppress the revolt, he died in B.C. 486. He was succeeded by his son Xerxes, who managed to reduce Egypt in the second year of his reign. A fresh invasion of Greece was now resolved upon, and the whole of Asia was again ransacked for a period of four years, to assemble as large a force as possible. A bridge of boats was constructed across the Hellespont, and a canal was dug across the low isthmus of Mount Athos, to avoid the necessity of sailing round the promontory where the fleet of Mardonius had been wrecked.

In the spring of B.C. 480, Xerxes set out from Sardes with an army consisting, it is said, of nearly 2,000,000 of men, including nations of all colours, costumes, arms, and languages. They crossed the Hellespont at Abydos, and marched along the coast through Thrace and Macedonia, towards Thessaly; while the fleet, consisting of 1207 triremes, and 3000 smaller vessels, sailed along the same coasts accompanying the army.

All true patriots felt that their safety depended upon union; but nearly all the northern states, partly overawed by fear, and partly compelled by their ruling nobles, submitted to the demands of the enemy. The Phokians and the Boeotian towns of Thespiæ and Platææ alone remained faithful to the cause of Greece. Athens and Sparta, however, with the greater part of the Peloponnesians, exerted themselves to the utmost to meet the impending danger. The leading man in Athens then was *Themistokles*, distinguished for his extraordinary quickness in perceiving what had to be done in any given emergency, to ensure a definite end. His rival in popularity was *Aristides*, a man who by his honesty and disinterestedness had obtained the surname of the Just. Both men loved their country intensely, but *Aristides*'s love was pure and simple, while *Themistokles* wished to make Athens great in order that he himself might command in a large sphere. Two such men could not but come into collision with each other; and in B.C. 483, *Themistokles* contrived to get *Aristides* banished by ostracism, whereby he was left in the undivided possession of the popular favour. *Themistokles*, seeing the necessity of increasing the Athenian navy, prevailed upon the people to forego the advantages they received from the silver mines of Laurion, and to devote them to the strengthening of their navy. The number of their ships of war was thereby increased to 200; and, under the guidance of its able leader, Athens became a maritime power.

While the two leading states were making every effort to meet the enemy, the want of union among the rest of the Greeks was most deplorable. *Themistokles* spared no trouble to silence disputes and brace the energy of his countrymen; and it was owing to his influence that the friends of liberty assembled at Korinth, where they bound themselves by an oath to defend their country and to consecrate to the Delphic god a tenth of the substance of every state which had surrendered to the enemy without being forced by necessity. A small band of Peloponnesians was sent to stop the progress of the Persians in

the pass of *Thermopylæ* ; and the fleet, commanded by Eurybiades, took up a position at the northern entrance of the Eubœan channel, near a place called *Artemision*.

The Persian fleet in its southward course was overtaken by a violent storm which lasted for three days, during which 400 ships and innumerable lives were lost. However, this disaster was scarcely felt by the huge armada, and Themistokles with difficulty prevented the Greek fleet from dispersing. But at length the Greeks boldly sailed out to attack the enemy, and a general engagement ensued, in which the unwieldy mass of the enemy's ships was thrown into confusion and sustained great loss. The Greeks, however, also suffered much, and they now resolved to retreat, because news reached them about what had happened at *Thermopylæ*.

The small band which had been sent there to bar the progress of the Persians, was commanded by the Spartan king, *Leonidas*. His whole force consisted of 300 Spartans, and a few thousands from other parts of Greece. There was, however, a path across the mountain by which the pass could be evaded, which fact was at first unknown to *Leonidas*. But when it was discovered, he despatched the Phokians to occupy the heights. He had great difficulty in keeping the rest of his men together, for they were terrified at the countless hosts of barbarians ; and Xerxes was not a little astonished, when he heard that the small number of Greeks were awaiting his attack in all composure. But assault after assault proved fruitless ; many of the barbarians were slain, and Xerxes was beginning to despair, when Ephialtes, a treacherous Greek, betrayed to him the path across the mountains. When *Leonidas* heard of this, he allowed his allies, who wished it, to depart ; but he himself and his Spartans were determined to defend their post. Only the Thespians and 400 Thebans remained with him. When the Persians appeared on the heights, the Phokians withdrew ; and soon after the Persians appeared at the southern entrance of the pass, so that the Greeks in it were surrounded on all sides. *Leonidas*, however, and his men

were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Several times the Persians were repulsed, until at last the Spartans, being surrounded on a hillock, were all slain by the darts of their assailants. All were afterwards buried on the spot where they had fallen, and a suitable inscription recorded their heroism. The battle of Thermopylæ was fought in the summer of B.C. 480, and the Persians are said to have lost 20,000 men.

The hostile army now advanced southward, devastating everything that came in its way. The temple of Delphi, the treasures of which attracted the barbarians, is said to have been miraculously saved, for a fearful thunderstorm burst upon them, and huge rocks rolling down from Mount Parnassus crushed many of them, in consequence of which they were terror-stricken and retraced their steps. The army then proceeded through Bœotia towards Attika; and the Athenians, who had in vain hoped for assistance from Peloponnesus, on the suggestion of Themistokles, sent to consult the god of Delphi as to what they should do. The answer of the god was, that they must defend themselves behind their wooden walls. This mysterious advice gave rise to many conjectures as to its meaning, but Themistokles of course had no difficulty in explaining the oracle, and told the people that they must defend themselves by their fleet. This explanation satisfied the people, and the Athenians with their allies sailed from Artemision to Salamis. On the advice of Themistokles, the Athenians further resolved to leave their city to the protection of Athena, its tutelary divinity, and to transport their families and movable property to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzen.

The Greek fleet assembled at Salamis consisted of 380 ships, and it was the almost unanimous opinion that it should take up a position near the isthmus, where it might co-operate with the Peloponnesian army. But Themistokles, being convinced that the safest plan was to receive the hostile fleet in the narrow strait of Salamis, and finding that his arguments had no effect, at last threatened that he and all Athenians would sail away

and establish themselves in another country. This threat produced some effect, but as he still feared lest the Peloponnesians should change their minds, he resolved to bring on the decisive contest as soon as possible. He assumed the mask of a traitor, and sent a trusty slave to the Persian admiral, to tell him that the Greeks were on the point of dispersing, and that, if he attacked them at once, he would gain an easy and complete victory ; whereas, if he allowed them to disperse, he would have to fight against them one by one. This stratagem succeeded, and the following night the channels which separate Salamis from Attika and Megara were blocked up by the Persian fleet. In the meantime Xerxes had overrun Attika, spreading devastation over the whole country. The lower part of the city of Athens was taken and destroyed, and the few men stationed in the akropolis were easily overpowered, and the place was set fire to. It was the terrible sight of these devastations that made the Greek commanders doubt the propriety of remaining united at Salamis ; but the ruse of Themistokles forced them to fight before they had time to disperse.

When the enormous fleet of the enemy had entered the channels, and was pent up in such a manner that the ships could hardly move, the Greeks began the attack. Xerxes, seated on a lofty throne on the coast, was viewing the great naval contest, expecting to witness the complete annihilation of the Greeks. But he was soon undeceived. The confusion among the Persian ships became so great that it was impossible to distinguish friends from foes, while the nimble triremes of the Greeks performed marvels of skill and bravery. The battle lasted the whole day, until towards evening the remainder of the Persian fleet withdrew to the port of Phaleron. The barbarians are said to have lost on that day 500 ships, and the Greeks only forty. Xerxes, though he still had a sufficient force to continue the contest, felt that such another defeat would be ruinous, and accordingly resolved to retreat ; but he left behind him Mardonius, who, with his land army of 300,000 men,

promised speedily to conquer the whole of Greece. Xerxes himself now prepared to return across the Hellespont.

When the Persian fleet quitted the Saronic gulf and sailed northward, the Athenians, not considering it safe to pursue the enemy, contented themselves with chastising the islands which had supported the invaders; and Themistokles hurried the king's flight, by sending a messenger to inform him that the Greeks intended to break down the bridge across the Hellespont. When the king arrived at Sestos, the bridge had already been destroyed by storms, but the fleet carried him and his followers safely into Asia. Mardonius had accompanied his master as far as Thessaly, where he intended to take up his winter quarters. The fame of Themistokles, whose wisdom and prudence had gained the victory of Salamis, resounded through all Greece, and even the Spartans honoured him in the same way as their own admiral.

Soon after the battle of Salamis, which had been fought late in the summer of B.C. 480, the Athenians returned to their city, and in the spring began to rebuild their houses, and to repair the damage done to their fields; but at the same time they did not lose sight of the enemy, for they knew that Mardonius with his army was still in Thessaly, and that a large fleet was still in the Ægæan. Mardonius formed a plan to detach Athens from the other Greeks, by offering a separate peace and alliance with Persia. But the manly answer of the Athenians was, that so long as the sun held on its course there could be no alliance between them and Persia. Mardonius thereupon marched southward, and was zealously supported by the Thessalians and Bœotians. On his approach the Athenians again left their city, and withdrew with their families to Salamis. Mardonius again tried to negotiate with them, but with no better result than before. The Spartans, instead of joining Athens against the common enemy, at first thought only of protecting themselves by fortifying the isthmus of Corinth, but at length *Pausanias*, the guardian of the

young king, Pleistarchos, was ordered to lead an army of 5000 men into Bœotia. Mardonius, after having ravaged Attika in every direction, likewise marched into Bœotia, where he hoped to be supported by the Thebans and other Bœotians.

The Greek army had in the meantime, it is said, been raised to 110,000 men, and the Athenian forces were commanded by *Aristides*, who had been recalled from his honourable exile. For many days the armies were facing each other, engaging only in petty skirmishes and manœuvres. At last Mardonius resolved to venture upon a decisive battle. The Greeks having received secret information of his design, prepared for the fight in the neighbourhood of *Plataeæ*. In this battle, which took place in B.C. 479, the Persians at first fought bravely, but Mardonius was mortally wounded, and his fall decided the issue of the contest. The Persians gave way at once, and a body which was coming to their support, hastily returned northward to gain the Hellespont; the Greek auxiliaries dispersed, and only the Bœotians continued to fight against the Athenians. The Persians at last shut themselves up in their camp, and despair paralysed them to such a degree, that they allowed themselves to be slaughtered without a struggle, and only 3000 of them are said to have escaped alive. An immense amount of booty was found in their camp, which Pausanias, the hero of the day, ordered to be collected; a tenth part of it was dedicated to the gods, and a splendid present was selected for Pausanias.

The Persians who had fled to the Hellespont reached Asia in safety, and Greece was now completely delivered from its foreign invaders. The next step was the chastisement of those Greeks who had supported the enemy. The Greek army accordingly advanced to the gates of Thebes, demanding the surrender of the guilty, and as the demand was refused, the city was blockaded for twenty days, after which the offenders surrendered themselves, and most of them were ordered by Pausanias to be put to death without a trial. This was his first arbitrary and tyrannical act, which was soon to be followed by others.

In the meantime the Greek fleet under the Spartan king, *Leotychides*, was stationed among the *Kyklades*, watching the movements of the enemy. Its assistance was sought by the Samians against their own tyrant, a zealous supporter of Persia. When *Leotychides* approached, the Persians, leaving their friend unprotected, sailed towards the mainland, where they joined the land army stationed near Mount *Mykale*, to keep the Ionians in subjection. The Greeks pursued them, and called upon the Ionians to cast off the Persian yoke. A battle ensued, in which the Asiatics were completely routed, and the carnage among them was fearful. The Greeks, after collecting the booty, returned to Samos. The battle of *Mykale* was fought and won on the same day as that of *Plataeæ*.

As Greece and the islands were now safe, it was thought advisable for the present to let the Ionians in Asia make the best terms they could with Persia, and *Leotychides* with the Peloponnesians sailed home; but the Athenian fleet, under the command of *Xanthippos*, sailed to the north, and laid siege to *Sestos*, where many Persians of rank were living. In the spring of B.C. 478 they were induced by famine to try to make their escape, but many of them were overtaken and put to death, whereupon the inhabitants opened their gates, and *Xanthippos* with his fleet now likewise sailed home.

The city of Athens had been changed into a heap of ruins, and the first care of those returning home was to rebuild their private houses, the restoration of the temples being deferred to another season. The leading men, *Themistokles* and *Aristides*, being resolved to provide for the immediate and future security of the city, ordered the walls to be rebuilt and extended. The Spartans, looking with jealousy upon the new fortifications of Athens, tried to stop its progress by intimating that Peloponnesus would always be a sufficiently safe refuge for all Greeks, if their country should ever be invaded again. But *Themistokles*, who saw through their selfish scheme, thwarted it in a very ingenious manner, and not

only completed the fortifications of the city and its three harbours, but made Peiræus a port town, where numerous traders and merchants, especially aliens, settled under the protection of the Athenian law. Athens thus went forth from the great war stronger than before, and conscious of her position and power.

In the spring of B.C. 477, the Greek fleet sailed to Cyprus, which was still in the hands of the Persians. Its chief command was intrusted to *Pausanias*, while the Athenian contingent was led by *Aristides* and *Kimon*, the son of Miltiades. The barbarians were driven from the island, and the fleet then sailed to Byzantium, which the Persians were likewise compelled to evacuate. These successes seem to have turned the head of Pausanias, for he now began to adopt the manners of the Persians, and treated his Greek allies with overbearing insolence. He even went so far as to form the plan of betraying Greece into the hands of the Persians, and to ask for the hand of Xerxes's daughter as a reward. The Greeks, especially the Ionians, were the more disgusted with his conduct, as it formed a strong contrast with the kindly and winning proceedings of the Athenian commanders. This feeling gradually led the Greeks to the resolution to place Athens in the position hitherto occupied by Sparta, and at last all the allies, except the Peloponnesians and Ægineans, offered to Athens the supremacy in all their common affairs. They accordingly formed a *confederacy with Athens as its head*, the object being the protection of Greece against the barbarians. All the members of the confederacy were to contribute towards this common end, and Athens was authorised to collect and direct their forces. In its internal affairs, however, each state remained independent. A common fund was established in the island of Delos, and deputies from all the confederates were to meet periodically there in the temple of Apollo. Sparta thus lost her ancient position through the folly of Pausanias, who was indeed now recalled, and in disgust she withdrew from the scene of action, leaving her rival triumphant. But she still remained

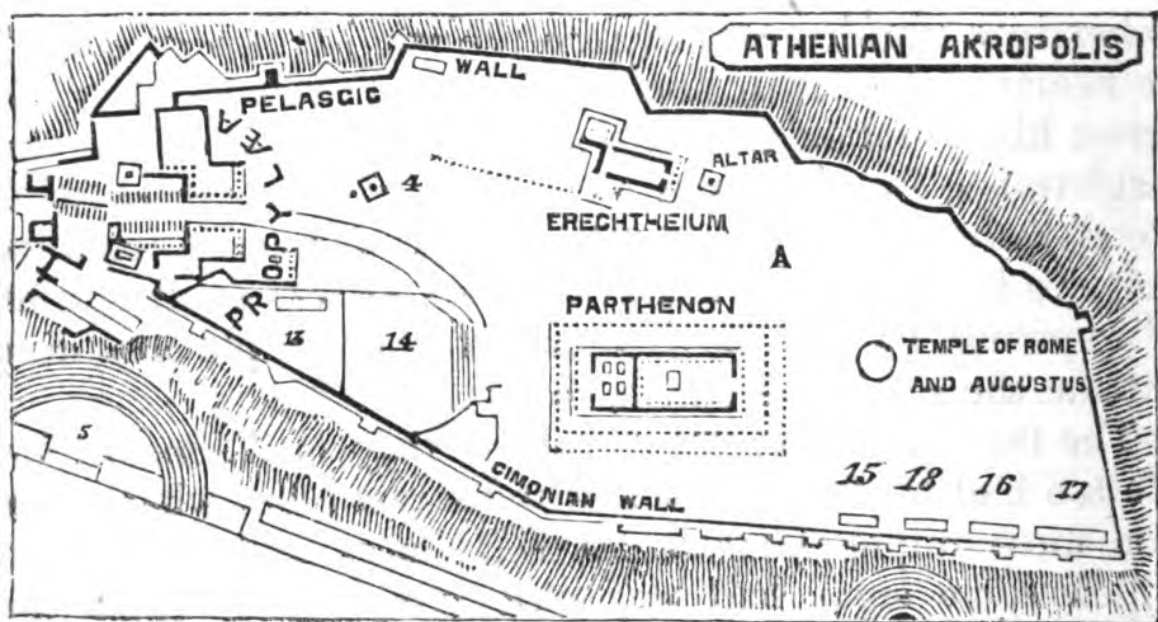
the head of the Peloponnesian allies, so that henceforth Greece was divided into two great confederacies. Athens maintained her proud position for about seventy-two years, until the end of the Peloponnesian war.

The organisation of the Athenian confederacy was the last and noblest work of *Aristides*, but he is also said to have been the author of some important political reforms, by which the archonship and the council of the Areiopagos were thrown open to all Athenians, irrespective of any property qualification. He died in the enjoyment of the full confidence which his countrymen had always placed in him.

Very different was the fate of *Pausanias* and *Themistokles*. The former, after his recall to Sparta, was subjected to a severe inquiry; but as no satisfactory evidence of his guilt was produced, the accusation was dropped. He then went to Byzantium, where he carried on his intrigues with Persia so openly that the authorities felt obliged again to order him to return home. As again he could not be convicted, he was set free, and now tried to incite the Helots to a rebellion. At the same time he continued his treasonable correspondence with Persia, until at last he was denounced by one of his own slaves. When by a cunning contrivance the magistrates succeeded in hearing the truth from his own lips, they tried to arrest him; but he fled into a temple of Athena, and the magistrates, in order not to pollute the sanctuary with blood, ordered the entrance to be walled up, and left him there to be starved to death. When he was on the point of expiring, he was carried out of the temple and died outside the sacred precincts, in B.C. 461.

The fate of *Pausanias* involved that of *Themistokles*. He too had become proud and indiscreet; but what made him most unpopular was his selfishness and avarice, of which some signs had appeared immediately after the battle of Salamis. Numerous enemies therefore rose against him, and he was banished by ostracism as a person dangerous to popular liberty. He withdrew to Argos, where he was residing at the time when *Pausanias*

was convicted. The Spartans, who bore him a grudge ever since the fortification of Athens, alleged that in their inquiry about Pausanias, it had been found that Themistokles also was implicated in the plot, and they demanded that the Athenians should punish him accordingly. Although no evidence was then or ever after produced of his guilt, his enemies at Athens carried a decree that he should be arrested. Themistokles fled to Epirus, and thence to Pydna, where he took ship for Asia. Soon after his arrival there, Xerxes died, B.C. 465, and was succeeded by Artaxerxes. Themistokles went to the king's court, and succeeded in persuading him that he had claims upon his gratitude, and that his present misfortune was the consequence of his zeal for the interests of Persia. He became a great favourite at the court, and the king at last sent him down into Asia Minor, assigning to him the revenues of three wealthy towns for his maintenance. He thus spent the last years of his life in princely splendour. The manner of his death is uncertain.



PLAN OF AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.



PERIKLES.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SUPREMACY OF ATHENS DOWN TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

AFTER the withdrawal of Themistokles, *Kimon* was the most influential man in Athens. He belonged to the aristocratic party, but did not scruple to descend to the artifices of a demagogue, in order to increase his popularity; and his wealth enabled him to display a lavish liberality towards the poorer classes. He was an excellent soldier, and had already distinguished himself in the battle of Salamis. Several successful enterprises, but more especially the reduction of Naxos in B.C. 466, subsequently increased his renown. For a time the Athenian confederacy went on prosperously, but the inhabitants of Naxos, seeing that Greece had nothing more to fear from Persia, refused to submit to the supremacy of Athens. Their town was besieged and conquered by Kimon, who treated it with the utmost severity; and instead of being an ally, it now became the subject of Athens. This example might have deterred other states, but such was not the case, and all who revolted were punished with the loss of their independence. Some of the allied states commuted their personal services for payments of money, but their fate was not much bettered thereby, for they lost their warlike spirit, and Athens acquired as much power over them as over her subjects.

In B.C. 465, Kimon gained a brilliant victory over a large Persian fleet stationed at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, in Pamphylia; he then sailed up the river and also routed the enemy's land forces. On his return to the sea, he utterly destroyed a Persian squadron which was coming too late to strengthen the Persian fleet. After this treble victory, he sailed north and drove the last remnants of the Persians from the Thracian Chersonesus. While Kimon was in the north of the Ægean, the Athenians became involved in a war with the island of *Thasos* about the gold mines in Thrace. The Thasians applied to Sparta for assistance, and the latter was making preparations for invading Attika, when suddenly, in B.C. 464, Lakonia was visited by a terrible calamity. During an earthquake, masses of rock rolling down from Mount Taygetos spread terror and devastation far and wide. In Sparta only five houses are said to have been left standing, and upwards of 20,000 persons were killed. Amid this terrible visitation, the Helots and Messenians seized the opportunity of avenging themselves upon their hard masters. The Thasians had, of course, to be left to their fate, and became the subjects of Athens. The *Messenians* fortified themselves on Mount Ithome, and as the Spartans were unable to reduce them, they did not blush to send for assistance to Athens, against which they had just been preparing an expedition. The aristocratic party at Athens was at all times favourable to Sparta, and as it was just then all powerful, Kimon was sent out with a large force to besiege Ithome. But as he was not more successful than the Spartans themselves had been, they began to suspect his honesty, and dismissed him with his army. The Athenians, feeling this insult most keenly, broke off all connection with Sparta, and formed an alliance with Argos. Meanwhile the war against the Messenians was carried on for nearly ten years, until, in B.C. 455, they were compelled to surrender on condition that they should leave their country for ever. The Athenians kindly assigned to the unfortunate exiles the town of Naupaktos, where they settled, waiting for better times.

The democratic party at Athens was then headed by *Perikles*, a son of *Xanthippos*, who as an orator, statesman, and general far surpassed all his contemporaries. While *Kimon* was engaged in his military expeditions, *Perikles* took an active part in the discussions of the popular assembly. He became the leader of the demos, and a formidable opponent of *Kimon* and his brother nobles. *Perikles*, even if he had had the wealth of *Kimon*, would have disdained using it to increase his popularity. He considered it more honourable that the poorer classes should be supplied with the means of enjoyment out of their own, than to be dependent on wealthy nobles. He and his friends, among whom the honest *Ephialtes* deserves to be specially mentioned, carried a series of measures which enabled the poor to take part in public life and public enjoyments. He courted, indeed, popular favour, but never descended to low or demagogic expedients.

The contest between the two parties had been going on for some time, but it came to a head when *Perikles* and *Ephialtes* tried to limit the functions of the *Areiopagos* so much as to leave to it nothing but its venerable name. The aristocracy was, of course, most bitterly exasperated, but as just at this time *Kimon* was slighted by Sparta, he and the whole aristocracy became very unpopular, and the measure of reducing the power of the *Areiopagos* was easily carried. Soon after this, *Kimon* was banished by ostracism.

About the year B.C. 460, an Athenian fleet was lying off *Kyprus*, when *Inarus* and a great part of Egypt revolted against Persia. *Inarus* asked for the assistance of the Athenian fleet, which at once sailed southward and enabled him to defeat the Persians. The fleet then sailed up the Nile to *Memphis*, which the Athenians besieged for five years, after which they were compelled by large Persian reinforcements to withdraw, and being surrounded in an island of the river, they were nearly all slain.

While the Athenian fleet was still engaged in Egypt,

the rupture with Sparta involved Athens in a war with Korinth, which was joined by Ægina and several Argive towns. Notwithstanding the absence of their forces in Egypt, the Athenians attacked their enemies with undaunted courage, and utterly defeated them. *Myronides*, who was then the soul of all the military undertakings of the Athenians, gained so complete a victory over the Korinthians that their whole army was destroyed. This Korinthian war and the hostile spirit of Sparta, together with the fact that there existed at Athens a party ready to play into the hands of any enemy, if they could thereby recover their lost privileges, induced Perikles to complete the long walls connecting Athens with the port of Peiræus, which had been commenced before; and it soon became evident how necessary it was to strengthen Athens in every way. In an engagement against the Bœotians, the Athenians were defeated through the treachery of their Thessalian allies; but this loss was amply repaid a year later, B.C. 456, when Myronides gained a complete victory over the Bœotians and razed the walls of Tanagra to the ground. From this time the influence of Athens predominated in Bœotia; and Ægina soon afterwards became subject to Athens.

About this time news reached Athens of the disaster in Egypt, but she nevertheless continued the war against Sparta and its allies as vigorously as before. In B.C. 453, Perikles himself effected the recall of Kimon from exile; he saw the necessity of all true patriots uniting against the schemes of the oligarchical faction, for it was at this time that his friend Ephialtes, a man of the sternest honesty, was assassinated. The reconciliation of the two men secured to Greece the enjoyment of peace for the next three years, after which a truce for five years was concluded, during which Kimon undertook his last campaign against the Persians. In Egypt another revolt had broken out, and again the Athenians were asked to send succour. Kimon with a considerable fleet sailed to Cyprus, whence he sent a detachment to Egypt, while

he himself laid siege to Kition. During this siege, in B.C. 449, he died ; and his forces were compelled by want of provisions to stop the operation. On their return home they gained victories by sea and by land over large bodies of Persians, and then being joined by the detachment which had accomplished its object in Egypt, they all sailed home.

In B.C. 448, the peace of Greece was disturbed by a quarrel between the Delphians and Phokians about the guardianship of the temple of Delphi, which had belonged to the Delphians from time immemorial, but had been wrested from them by the Phokians. With the help of Sparta the Delphians recovered what had been lost. But no sooner had the Spartan forces withdrawn, than Perikles marched with an army into Phokis and restored the guardianship of the temple to the Phokians. In the year following, the Athenian influence in Bœotia was destroyed by a revolution in which the party hostile to Athens gained the upper hand.

When, in B.C. 445, the five years' truce expired, Eubœa and Megara rose against Athens ; and while Perikles was engaged in quelling the insurrection in Eubœa, he learned that a Peloponnesian army had invaded Attika and was ravaging the country. By bribes he induced the Spartans to quit Attika, whereby he was enabled to complete the reduction of Eubœa. All parties seem now to have become tired of war ; and wishing for peace, they concluded, in B.C. 445, a truce which was to last for thirty years. In it the Athenians gave up their possessions in Peloponnesus, but their maritime empire remained undisputed. This truce was distasteful to the Athenian aristocracy, which was then headed by *Thukydides*, but Perikles bore down all opposition, for his power was now greater than ever. He was now in a condition to carry out his design of strengthening the Athenian empire and of raising the confidence and self-respect of his countrymen to a level with their lofty position. The Athenian confederacy was no longer what it had been in the days of Aristides. Even in his lifetime, the common treasury

had been transferred from Delos to Athens ; those of the confederates who had revolted had been reduced to the condition of subjects, and the remaining states had been so much weakened, that Athens, from being the head of a confederacy, had become the mistress of an empire, over which she ruled with almost despotic power. Perikles raised the annual tribute of the allies from 400 to 600 talents, and all subject states had to adopt a democratic constitution ; but what was still more inconvenient and annoying to them, was the fact that all important law-suits were transferred from their local courts to the tribunals at Athens.

In B.C. 440, Perikles had an opportunity of displaying his brilliant qualities as a military commander. The island of *Samos* was governed by its aristocracy, which the demos was desirous to overthrow with the help of Athens. Perikles, who was sent out with a fleet to accomplish this object, at once established a democratic government, and sent 100 members of the aristocracy as hostages to Lemnos. Leaving a small garrison behind, he returned home. But during his absence some nobles, with the help of mercenaries, overpowered the new government, restored the old constitution, rescued the hostages, and renounced all connection with Athens. On hearing this, Perikles again set out with a fleet, drove the Samians into their town and blockaded it. Knowing that a Persian fleet was expected to support the Samians, he sailed out to meet it, but it did not make its appearance. On his return to Samos he found that his adversaries had gained some advantages, but his presence soon changed the aspect of things, and after the war had lasted for nine months, the Samians were compelled to capitulate and became subjects of Athens. This event consolidated the Athenian empire, over which Athens henceforth ruled without opposition and without restraint.

Athens was now in a condition to strengthen herself, and to provide for her poorer citizens by the foundation of new colonies, where they might be useful to her. The

position to which her citizens had risen filled them with a feeling of pride ; the Athenian franchise was highly valued, and every one not entitled to it was rigorously excluded. The poorer classes, moreover, found profitable employment, partly in the great architectural works which Perikles caused to be erected for the defence or embellishment of the city, and partly by their being trained for the navy. Among the architectural works we have already noticed the long walls ; but the temples which adorned the akropolis, such as the *Parthenon*, with its splendid approach, the *Propylæa*, decorated with the masterworks of sculpture by Pheidias, still excite in their ruined state the admiration of the whole of the civilised world. Perikles also knew that a people cannot be truly happy without reasonable diversions and amusements ; he therefore provided the poorer classes, out of the public funds, with the means of attending the theatre and taking part in the public festivals. He also introduced the practice of paying jurors for their attendance in the courts of law. These regulations, at first perhaps fair and just, afterwards became detrimental to the state, especially when the amount of money thus spent was increased by subsequent popular leaders.

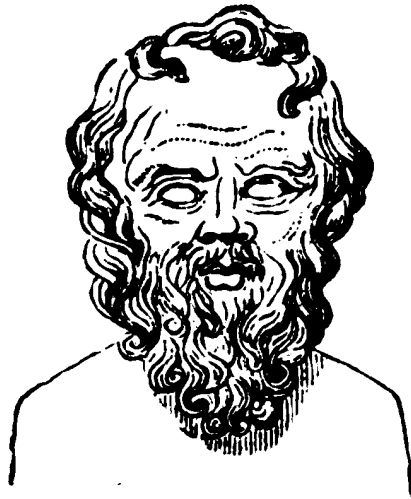
The period during which Perikles guided the destiny of Athens forms the most brilliant epoch in her history. Down to the time of the Persian wars, Athens had not been distinguished in any way above other Greek cities, but the victories she won in those wars stimulated the energy of her citizens, and rendered them capable of producing the most wonderful works in art and literature which the world has ever seen. At the time when lyric poetry was gradually dying away, Athens enriched literature with the drama, the highest and most complex of all poetical compositions, and the greatest dramatists in tragedy and comedy belong to the age of Perikles. The first impulse was given by *Phrynichos*, but the real father of tragedy was *Æschylos*, of whom seven pieces have come down to our time. His younger contemporary, *Sophokles*, is unsurpassed in the charm of his language and the

general harmony of his conceptions. He was succeeded by *Euripides*, who, though inferior as a poet, supplanted him in popular favour. With these masters tragedy was not a mere amusement, but a means employed for religious, moral, and sometimes even political purposes, though the last was more especially the case in comedy, which enjoyed unbounded license, and reached its highest development through the genius of *Aristophanes*, in the time of the Peloponnesian war. Prose literature in Greece, as in all other countries, was cultivated later than poetry.

Perikles, like all great men, had to make the sad experience that mankind is prone to envy, jealousy, and hatred. Rumours and suspicions were spread, not only regarding his private life, but also in reference to his public acts. The first attempts to hurt him consisted in attacks on his dearest friends; but he himself also was assailed, and his enemies charged him with having embezzled a portion of the gold destined to be employed in the magnificent statue of Athena; but he silenced his accusers, by having the gold taken from the statue and weighed, when it was found that nothing was wanting. Pheidias was accused of having introduced his own portrait among the figures on the shield of the goddess, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison. Having been successful in this case, the enemies of Perikles tried others, but their machinations failed, and in despair they at last dropped their proceedings. Perikles was never again molested, and maintained his high position as head of the republic down to the end of his life.



PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON.



HEAD OF SOCRATES.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

ALTHOUGH a truce of thirty years had been made in B.C. 445, it was evident that peace could not be maintained long, for the ever-growing power and influence of Athens filled the other states, and especially Sparta, with jealousy and hatred. These feelings kept Sparta and her allies in close union, while Athens could scarcely depend upon the fidelity of her allies and subjects. Sparta, moreover, represented the Dorian and aristocratic interest; while Athens, an Ionian state, everywhere fostered democratic institutions. In this state of things, it only required a spark to set the whole country in a blaze of war. That spark came from an unexpected quarter, and the result was a war which lasted twenty-seven years, disturbed the peace of the whole of the Greek world, and ended in the downfall of Athens.

At *Epidamnus*, a colony of Kerkyra (Corcyra), in Illyricum, the aristocratic party, having been expelled by the demos, had obtained the assistance of a neighbouring tribe, and were attacking the town. The Epidamnians applied for help to their mother city, and as this was refused, they addressed themselves to Korinth, the mother city of Kerkyra. Korinth gladly seized the opportunity of punishing her colony which had neglected its duties towards her. A Korinthian army accordingly marched to Epidamnus, and the Kerkyraeans at the same time

sent out a fleet, demanding the restoration of the banished nobles, and the dismissal of all Korinthians from the town. As this was refused, the Kerkyraeans, joined by the exiles and others, blockaded Epidamnus. The Korinthians now declared war against Kerkyra. In a naval engagement near the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf, they were completely defeated, and at the same time the Epidamnians had to surrender to the besiegers, who sold the inhabitants into slavery, and kept the Korinthians as prisoners of war. This happened in B.C. 434.

The Korinthians thereupon made every effort to strengthen themselves by new alliances, and the Kerkyraeans sent envoys to Athens to solicit assistance; but the Korinthians also sent ambassadors to counteract their enemies. After mature consideration Athens concluded a defensive alliance with Kerkyra, but did not declare war against Korinth. A small fleet accordingly was sent to Kerkyra with orders not to engage in any contest, unless Kerkyra should be attacked. The Korinthian and Kerkyraean fleets met near a place called Sybota, and when the Athenians saw their allies hard pressed, they took part in the fight, whereupon the Korinthians declared that the Athenians had broken the peace. These first acts of hostility between Athens and Korinth took place in B.C. 432.

While this was going on, Perdikkas, king of Macedonia, tried to incite the cities in the north of the Ægæan to give up their alliance with Athens. One of these towns was *Potidæa*, a colony of Korinth, and the Athenians at once ordered its inhabitants to demolish their fortifications and to give hostages. Sparta declared that she would protect *Potidæa*, in consequence of which its inhabitants defied the orders sent from Athens. Several other towns followed their example. The Athenian fleet sent against them, finding itself too weak to carry on the war against the revolted cities, turned against Perdikkas. But the Athenian admiral was prevailed upon to make peace with the king, in order to be able to direct all his forces, which had in the meantime

been much increased, against the Korinthians and their friends. The Korinthians were indeed defeated, but succeeded in throwing themselves into Potidæa, which was now besieged by land and by sea.

Amid these complications a congress of the Spartan allies was summoned to Sparta, and all states believing themselves to be unjustly treated by Athens, were invited to state their grievances. Many complaints were brought forward, but the Athenian envoys manfully defended the conduct of their countrymen. The result, however, was that war was declared, in B.C. 432 ; but Sparta, with its usual slowness, did not take any active steps till the year following. Some attempts at negotiation continued to be made, but to no purpose. The sympathies of most of the continental states were in favour of the Spartans, who declared themselves the champions of the liberty and independence of the Greeks. The allies of Sparta included all the Peloponnesians except Argos, and she was further supported by Megara, Phokis, Lokris, Bœotia, and in general by all Dorian cities. The allies of Athens were Chios, Lesbos, Plataeæ, the Messenians at Naupaktos, the greater part of Akarnania, Zakynthos, and Kerkyra, and they were of course supported by the Ionian cities in Asia, on the Hellespont and the coast of Thrace, and by most of the islands in the Ægæan. All Greece was thus divided in two hostile camps, and both parties were making active preparations for the coming contest.

In B.C. 431, the Spartan king, Archidamos, invaded Attika with an army, and devastated the country in order to draw out the Athenians to a decisive battle. But Perikles was determined to maintain a defensive attitude, and towards the end of the summer Archidamos returned home and disbanded his army. In the meantime, however, the Athenian fleet had been retaliating by ravaging the coasts of Peloponnesus and Lokris, and in the autumn Perikles himself made a predatory inroad into Megara. During the first five years of the war both parties annually made such ravaging incursions into each

other's territories, and neither seems to have been inclined to bring the war to a close by some decisive action. The war was raging in several parts of Greece, and the Athenians generally had the advantage over their enemies.

Early in the following year, when Archidamos had again invaded Attika, a terrible plague broke out at Athens, which was then overcrowded with people from the country, who were seeking protection within its walls. 4000 citizens and 10,000 slaves were carried off by the pestilence, while the Lakedæmonians were ravaging the country for a period of forty days. But the Athenian fleet, as in the year before, made a ravaging tour round Peloponnesus, and Potidæa was compelled by famine to surrender. In the year B.C. 429, Athens lost her great leader Perikles, who fell a victim to the plague. What the people had lost in him became evident but too soon, for unprincipled demagogues, by humouring the evil passions of the people, demoralised them, and it became impossible to make any great efforts abroad, though Phormion, the Athenian admiral, gained some advantages in the western sea and compelled the Peloponnesian fleet to take refuge in the Korinthian gulf.

The Bœotian town of *Platææ*, even before the outbreak of the war, had been treacherously attacked one night by a body of Thebans, but by the quickness of the Plateæans nearly the whole band were taken prisoners, and many of them were put to death. Athens, the ancient friend of *Platææ*, supported the place as far as she could ; but in the third year of the war, Archidamos, instead of invading Attika, directed all his forces against *Platææ*, whose inhabitants defended themselves with almost superhuman bravery, until, in B.C. 427, they were obliged to capitulate. All the male population was butchered, and the women were sold as slaves. This act of wanton cruelty was the work of the Thebans.

The fourth year of the war, Archidamos repeated the invasion of Attika, the Athenians still maintaining the defensive. The most important event of this year was

the revolt of the wealthy island of *Lesbos*, where the aristocratic party favoured Sparta, while the demos clung to the Athenian alliance. As remonstrance with the rebellious city of Mitylene produced no effect, a fleet was sent out against it. The Spartans promised help to the rebels, admitted them into the Peloponnesian confederacy, and resolved to attack Athens itself. But the promptness of the Athenians compelled them to abandon this undertaking. Meanwhile Mitylene was blockaded by the Athenian admiral Paches, and no Peloponnesian fleet appeared to its relief until B.C. 427, when the Spartans again ravaged Attika in the hope of thereby compelling Athens to withdraw her forces from Lesbos. But Mitylene was obliged to surrender before the Peloponnesian fleet arrived. When Paches was master of the island, he sent the ringleaders of the revolt to Athens, where it was to be decided what punishment should be inflicted upon the islanders. *Kleon*, a leather merchant, who was then the leader of the Athenian people, induced them to pass the bloody decree, that all the men should be put to death, and the women and children sold as slaves. Messengers were at once sent with this decree to Paches; but the Athenian people soon repented of their terrible order: the very next day the decree was reversed, and it was resolved to inflict death only on the most guilty. Another ship was therefore sent off and arrived just in time to save the unfortunate people of Mitylene. But Lesbos lost its freedom, and became subject to Athens.

The bitterest hatred had gradually arisen everywhere between the aristocratic and democratic parties, but nowhere was greater cruelty and ferocity displayed than at *Kerkyra*, whose prosperity was thereby destroyed for ever. Dorian and aristocracy, and Ionian and democracy had almost become synonymous. Hence we find even in Sicily the Dorian colonies headed by Syrakuse, arrayed against the Ionian towns; and the Athenians were prevailed upon by the Leontine orator Gorgias to send a fleet to Sicily, in B.C. 427, which was to prevent rein-

forcements being sent from the island to the Peloponnesians.

In the same year, the Spartans intended again to invade Attika, but, terrified by earthquakes, they abandoned the scheme, so that the Athenians were free to take the offensive against some of their enemies in the north and west; even in Sicily they gained possession of some important places. In the year following, the Peloponnesians indeed carried out their design of invading Attika; but after a stay of only fifteen days, they returned home, for they learned that *Demosthenes*, an able Athenian general, had established himself at Pylos in Messenia, and strongly fortified the place. The Spartan army was accordingly recalled from Attika, and several but fruitless attempts were made to recover Pylos. A body of Spartans then took possession of the island of *Sphakteria*, in front of the harbour of Pylos. All attacks of the Lakedæmonians were repelled, and the Spartans being blockaded in the barren island, would have been starved to death if provisions had not been smuggled into it by faithful slaves. In order to save her men, Sparta was ready to conclude a peace or a truce, but the terms proposed by Athens, which was then guided by Kleon, were such that Sparta could not accept them. The Athenians at Pylos also began to suffer from want of provisions; and Kleon boastfully declared in the assembly at Athens, that if he had the command he would bring the Spartans captive from *Sphakteria* to Athens. The Athenians, taking him at his word, appointed him commander. On his arrival at Pylos he found that matters had already been brought to a crisis by the skilful management of Demosthenes, and being further assisted by favourable circumstances, he drove the Spartans into a corner of the island and then compelled them to surrender. Nearly one-half of the men had perished in the island, and the survivors were carried as prisoners to Athens. The rash promise of Kleon was thus made good by accident.

The Athenians at Pylos, being joined by many Messenians and Helots, caused great annoyance to Sparta,

which tried to recover its captive citizens by negotiation, but without success; for the Athenians were exorbitant in their demands, and in the end declared that they would put them all to death if the Peloponnesians again invaded Attika. During this year the Athenians were also successful in other parts, and made themselves masters of the island of Kythera. These successes encouraged and emboldened them in the same proportion as they discouraged the Spartans, who now began to confine themselves to the defensive, while the Athenians continued their ravaging expeditions. In Sicily a peace was concluded with Athens, on the advice of the wise and patriotic Syrakusan, *Hermokrates*, who showed his countrymen that, by fighting against one another, they were only preparing the way for a foreign conqueror. But the Athenian people, in their belief that greater advantages might have been gained in Sicily, punished some of the generals who had consented to the peace.

The Spartans were at no time famous for kindness or affability, but there had arisen among them a man who combined these qualities with those of a great captain. That man was *Brasidas*. He first drove the Athenians from Megara, and then transferred the war to the peninsula of Chalkidike and the coast of Thrace, hoping thereby to compel the Athenians to give up Pylos and Kythera. While these plans were being carried out, the Athenians suffered a very severe defeat at *Delion* in Bœotia, whither they had been invited by a party of Bœotians favourable to them. Their loss amounted to more than 1000 of their best soldiers.

When Brasidas arrived in Macedonia, he was joined at once by the fickle King Perdikkas, and advancing into Chalkidike, he proclaimed himself the deliverer of the Greek towns from the tyranny of Athens. His winning manners captivated all, and made them desirous of joining the Spartan alliance; some towns declared themselves at once, and received Lakedæmonian garrisons. The success of Brasidas was immense, though he received little support from home. But as the Spartans were

bent upon recovering their captive fellow-citizens, a truce was concluded, in B.C. 423, which was to last for one year, and afford an opportunity of negotiating a permanent peace, of which both parties were desirous.

While the negotiations were going on, the Athenians in the north violated the truce by several acts of hostility; and at its expiration, in B.C. 422, Kleon undertook the command of the Athenian forces. After having gained some advantages, he met Brasidas, who had in the meantime received large reinforcements, near Amphipolis. When Kleon saw the enemy approach he retreated; and the Spartans perceiving this, fell upon the Athenians and routed them. Kleon himself took to flight, but being overtaken he was slain by a common soldier, while the Athenians bravely continued the fight, until in the end they were overcome. Brasidas had been mortally wounded in the first part of the engagement, and was carried from the field of battle to Amphipolis, where he died.

After the death of Brasidas, his policy was abandoned by the Spartans, who were resolved to make peace and liberate their prisoners. The recent losses had considerably lowered the pride of the Athenians, and *Nikias*, who now was their leading man, was in favour of peace. Negotiations were accordingly commenced, and in the spring of B.C. 421 the outlines of a peace were arranged. It was agreed by both parties that all conquests made during the war should be given back, that all the prisoners of war should be set free without ransom, and that the peace (commonly called the peace of *Nikias*) should last for fifty years. In the same year, Sparta concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Athens, to protect herself against Argos, her ancient rival. The smaller states looked upon these arrangements with fear and suspicion, and it was only too evident that the peace could not last long.

For nearly seven years the Athenians and Spartans did abstain from invading each other's territories, but neither strictly adhered to the terms of the peace, and each of the

two states eagerly increased the number of its allies. *Argos* in the meantime put itself at the head of a new confederation, and declared itself in favour of Athens ; while Sparta entered into a separate understanding with *Bœotia*. Amid these difficult complications, *Alkibiades*, still a young man, was fanning the warlike spirit of the Athenians. He belonged to an illustrious family, and his very eccentricities made him a favourite with the people. His feelings were those of an aristocrat, but his ambition led him to come forward as a popular leader. The alliance with Argos, which was to be both offensive and defensive, and to last for a hundred years, was mainly his work. The Athenians made use of this alliance for annoying Sparta ; and in B.C. 418, Argos, incited by Alkibiades, went so far in her provocation that Sparta could endure it no longer. A war ensued, in which the Argives were completely defeated in a battle near Mantinea ; but the aristocratic party at Argos soon after brought about a peace with Sparta, in which its former allies were given up. Argos and Sparta now increased the number of their allies as much as possible, and supported aristocratic governments wherever they could.

In B.C. 417, the democratic party at Argos again gained the upper hand, and renewed its connection with Athens. The year after, Alkibiades sailed with a fleet to Argos, and made 300 aristocrats his prisoners. Soon after this, the Doric island of *Melos*, declining to join the Athenian confederacy, was besieged and compelled to surrender at discretion. The Athenians, with the utmost cruelty, changed the island into a wilderness, and then peopled it again with new settlers. The Spartans, still keeping to the terms of the peace, did nothing to assist Melos, but events were occurring at a distance which rendered the maintenance of peace impossible.

We have already noticed that the Athenians were vexed with their generals who returned from Sicily without having made any conquests. After the death of Perikles, the demagogues, elated by the successes at home, made the people believe that they might accomplish any-

thing, if they only set resolutely about it. Politicians were divided into two parties: the one, headed by *Nikias*, wished for peace at any price; the other, led by *Alkibiades*, was full of projects of war and conquest. While opinions were thus divided, an embassy from *Egesta* appeared at Athens, in B.C. 416, to solicit aid against the town of Selinus, and made most liberal promises. Envoys were at once sent to Sicily to look into the state of affairs, and on their return gave a most glowing account of the wealth and power of *Egesta*. The Athenians, therefore, at once decreed to send out a powerful fleet under the command of *Alkibiades*, *Lamachos*, and *Nikias*. It was the most splendid armament that Athens had ever fitted out, and worthy of the proud position she occupied among the states of Greece.

When the fleet was almost ready to sail, nearly all the statues of *Hermes*, which adorned the streets of Athens, were found one morning overthrown or mutilated. This act of wantonness filled the minds of the people with alarm, it being believed that it could only be the work of a conspiracy. Many persons were denounced, and those who took to flight were sentenced to death, and their property was confiscated. The name of *Alkibiades* was not mentioned by any of the informers until the fleet had actually sailed. On its arrival at *Rhegium*, in southern Italy, a detachment was sent to *Egesta* to gather information about its means of defence. The report brought back showed that the wealth of *Egesta* had been greatly exaggerated, but *Alkibiades* and *Lamachos* were nevertheless resolved to assist the town, to gain as many allies as possible, and to attack *Syrakuse*, the chief of the Dorian cities in Sicily.

At this moment, envoys arrived from Athens to recall *Alkibiades*, that he might answer the charges which his enemies had in the meantime brought against him. He offered no resistance, and sailed back with the envoys; but on their arrival at *Thurii* he landed and took to flight. The removal of *Alkibiades* deprived the expedition of the only man who might have carried the undertaking to a

successful issue. He went into Peloponnesus, and his enemies at Athens caused him to be condemned to death, and had all his property confiscated. The war in Sicily was carried on without much energy, until, about the beginning of winter, the Athenians landed in the neighbourhood of *Syrakuse*, and after an engagement, in which the Syrakusans narrowly escaped being beaten, the Athenians withdrew to Katana.

During the winter, the Syrakusans, under the guidance of Hermokrates, did all they could to strengthen themselves, but found the Sicilian towns rather lukewarm in the cause. The Athenians also endeavoured to strengthen themselves by fresh alliances. The Syrakusans sent to Sparta and Korinth for assistance, and Alkibiades, who had taken refuge at Sparta, strongly urged the government to send a large force and an able general to aid Syrakuse, and at the same time to take possession of *Dekeleia*, in the very heart of Attika. The advice was at once acted upon, and *Gylippos* was sent with a force to Syrakuse.

In the spring of B.C. 414, the Athenians besieged Syrakuse, and several engagements took place, in one of which Lamachos was killed. Syrakuse was then closely invested, whereby its inhabitants were reduced to such a state of despair as to depose their faithful leader Hermokrates. The Athenians, being now joined by many Sicilian towns, were feeling sure of victory; but just at this time Gylippos arrived, and his mere presence revived the spirit of the Dorian towns. Great numbers flocked to his standard, and the Syrakusans, giving up all thoughts of peace, attacked the nearly completed fortifications of the Athenians.

The aspect of things was completely changed. Both the native Sicilians and the Greek towns joined Syrakuse, while the Athenians had scarcely any allies except Naxos and Katana. Nikias, now the sole commander of the Athenians, instead of besieging Syrakuse, found that he was himself besieged. He applied to Athens for reinforcements, and wished to resign the command on the

ground of ill health. The last request was refused, but two generals, *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, were sent with fresh troops to Sicily. As the peace between the two leading states of Greece had now been openly broken, the Spartan king, Agis, in B.C. 413, invaded Attika, and after ravaging the country, fortified himself at *Dekeleia*, from whence he could annoy the Athenians in many ways. The situation of Athens was desperate. She had to carry on the war both at home and in Sicily; the sums of money required were immense, and her revenues were diminished. These circumstances created a feeling of uneasiness and discontent, which ultimately found vent in a revolution.

Before Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived with their forces, a naval battle was fought, in which the Athenians were victorious, but their station on the coast was seized by the army of Gylippos. The Athenians were much harassed by the enemy, and in a second naval battle they were compelled to retreat. At this critical time, when the Athenians began to lose their prestige, Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived. Demosthenes at once made a night attack on one of the suburbs of Syrakuse, and though at first successful, he was at last defeated with great loss. As, in addition to this disaster, diseases broke out among the Athenian troops, their commanders became disheartened, and Demosthenes even thought of abandoning Sicily altogether. Nikias, though he foresaw the danger of such a withdrawal, at last agreed with his colleague to retreat in secrecy. The Syrakusans, who had been informed of this design, attacked their enemies both by land and by sea. The Athenian fleet was completely defeated, and Eurymedon was killed. The loss of the Athenians was very severe, and the Syrakusans now aimed at nothing short of the utter annihilation of their opponents. They therefore resolved to try their strength in another sea fight, and the Athenians now felt that their very existence was at stake. The land army, under Nikias, was drawn up on the coast. In the ensuing engagement, the Athenian fleet was compelled to retreat

towards the coast, and the land army broke up in utter confusion. The fleet, one-half of which was destroyed, was abandoned, and the Athenians endeavoured by flight to reach some inland place of safety, the sick and wounded being left behind. Nikias led the van, and Demosthenes the rear. The Syrakusans pursued and harassed them in every way, and after some days forced them to prepare for battle. The troops of Demosthenes were compelled to surrender their arms, but their lives were to be spared. When Nikias was likewise overtaken and heard of the fate of his colleague, he could not believe it, and continued his march amid the greatest difficulties, until he too was forced to surrender. The captives, 7000 in number, were sent into a large stone quarry near Syrakuse, where they were kept for seventy days, crowded together, upon little food, and in a pestilential atmosphere, for the bodies of the dead and dying were left in the midst of the living. At last the survivors were sold as slaves, and Nikias and Demosthenes were put to death. Thus ended the most splendid expedition that Athens had ever sent out. The heartless cruelty of the Syrakusans cannot but fill us with horror and detestation.

When the news of this dreadful blow reached Athens, the people became desponding, and vented their wrath against those who had advised them to embark in the undertaking; but they soon recovered their spirits and determined to preserve whatever power they still possessed. The general war was continued for nine years longer, partly by sea, and partly on the coast of Asia Minor, while the Spartans maintained their strong position at Dekeleia. During the Sicilian expedition, Sparta had become a maritime power. The discontented allies of Athens, such as Eubœa and Lesbos, seizing the opportunity of her humiliation, entered into negotiation with Sparta; and even Persia tried to secure her help to drive the Athenians from their possessions in Asia Minor. The Spartans gladly entered into the plot, and, in B.C. 412, sent Alkibiades with a small fleet to Chios, whose

inhabitants were induced to renounce their alliance with Athens. Other towns followed their example, and the Athenians were unable to check the spirit of revolt. At last a treaty was concluded between Sparta and Persia, in which the Asiatic Greeks were handed over to the barbarians.

The Athenians, however, having assembled a large force, subdued and ravaged Chios, and compelled most of the revolted towns to return to their allegiance. Another force, under *Phrynichos*, attacked Miletus, where it had to contend against the Persian *Tissaphernes* and *Alkibiades*; but as a strong auxiliary force arrived from Syracuse, *Phrynichos* had to retreat to Samos. The Athenian ascendancy at sea was indeed maintained, but Miletus and some other towns remained in the hands of the enemies of Athens. *Alkibiades*, who had become suspected by his Spartan friends, induced *Tissaphernes* to withdraw his support from them, and to allow the Athenians and Spartans to weaken each other. This advice was followed, and caused no small loss to Sparta. The object of *Alkibiades*, however, had not been to benefit Persia more than Athens. His desire was to weaken his countrymen only so far as to make them feel the need of himself, and thus to effect his recall. With this view, he worked upon the Athenian army at Samos, and induced *Peisander* to go to Athens with certain proposals and the assurance that *Tissaphernes* was ready to join them. The plan, up to a certain point, succeeded, but as *Alkibiades* in his proposals insisted upon the establishment of an oligarchical government, all negotiation was broken off. The oligarchical party at Athens, however, in B.C. 411, succeeded in establishing a form of government after their own heart, and the same revolution was effected in many of the allied states. The change consisted in this: Ten men were appointed with unlimited power to prepare a series of new laws; a council of 400 was elected, and the franchise was limited to 5000 citizens. The chief promoters of this oligarchical scheme were *Peisander*, *Theramenes*, and the orator *Antiphon*. The new government

was bent upon concluding a speedy peace with Sparta. The army at Samos, however, was utterly opposed to the change; and when the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the oligarchs became known, both the army and the fleet bound themselves by an oath to defend the rights of the people, and to restore the democratic constitution.

During this period of internal discord, Athens sustained some severe losses abroad, for many towns in the north, and even Eubœa, revolted, while the Spartans were anxiously waiting for assistance from Persia. But things soon took a different turn.

Thrasybulos, one of the generals at Samos, prevailed upon the army to recall *Alkibiades*, who was at once chosen by the soldiers as one of their commanders, and contrived to make *Tissaphernes* believe that he was all-powerful with his countrymen, hoping thereby to induce the satrap openly to declare against Sparta. Envoys from Athens now came to Samos to exculpate and justify the ruling oligarchs. But the army refused to listen to them, and would have proceeded to Athens at once to depose the oligarchs, had it not been for the moderate counsels of *Alkibiades*. The change, however, was brought about by the quarrels among the oligarchs themselves, and *Theramenes* contrived to put himself at the head of a counter-revolution, as the oligarchs were suspected of plotting with Sparta. When, therefore, a Peloponnesian fleet actually appeared off the coast of Attika, the people hurried to their ships and attacked it; but they were defeated with great loss, which, for the moment, made them almost despair. They soon recovered, however, and an assembly was convened in which the oligarchy was deposed and *Alkibiades* recalled. *Peisander* and other leaders of the hateful party took to flight, and found shelter in the enemy's camp at Dekeleia.

Mindaros, the Spartan admiral, tired of waiting in vain for help from *Tissaphernes*, sailed to the Hellespont to try his luck with *Pharnabazus*, another Persian satrap. He was followed by the Athenian fleet, which gained a great victory over him; and a second naval

battle was fought near Abydos, in which, owing to the skilful management of Alkibiades, the Athenians were again victorious. Tissaphernes had by this time likewise arrived in that part of Asia, and as Alkibiades was trying definitely to win him over to Athens, he was arrested by the satrap and sent to Sardes, because the king, it was said, wished to continue the war against Athens. After a short time, Alkibiades escaped, returned to the Athenian fleet, and fought a great battle in the neighbourhood of Kyzikos, in which Mindaros was killed. The Peloponnesian army fled, and the whole fleet fell into the hands of the Athenians, B.C. 410. The Athenians now continued their victorious career, and recovered all that had been lost on the Hellespont, while the condition of the Peloponnesians seemed hopeless, for in Attika, too, the attacks from Dekeleia were successfully repelled.

In B.C. 409, Chalkedon and Byzantium surrendered to the Athenians. After these brilliant successes, Alkibiades, in B.C. 408, returned to Athens, where all accusations against him were forgotten, and where for a time he became the idol of the people. Shortly after, he was sent with a large fleet to the island of Andros, which had revolted; and as he was unable to reduce it, his enemies made the people believe that the failure was owing solely to his want of goodwill; and of this they were the more easily persuaded, because they thought him capable of accomplishing anything if he only wished it.

After the death of Mindaros, the command of the Peloponnesian fleet was undertaken by *Lysander*, an able man, and a worthy opponent of Alkibiades. He happened to be waiting at Ephesus for the arrival of Kyros, the king's son, a zealous supporter of Sparta. One of the officers of Alkibiades, contrary to orders, attacked *Lysander*, and this led to a general engagement, which ended unfortunately for the Athenians. Alkibiades, unable to repair the loss, sailed to Samos. There the disaster was ascribed to his own carelessness, and he was deposed by the army, B.C. 407. Knowing the influence of his enemies at home, Alkibiades went into voluntary

exile to the Thracian Chersonesus, and never saw his country again, though his attachment to it remained undiminished. *Konon*, the ablest of his generals, now undertook the command of the army at Samos.

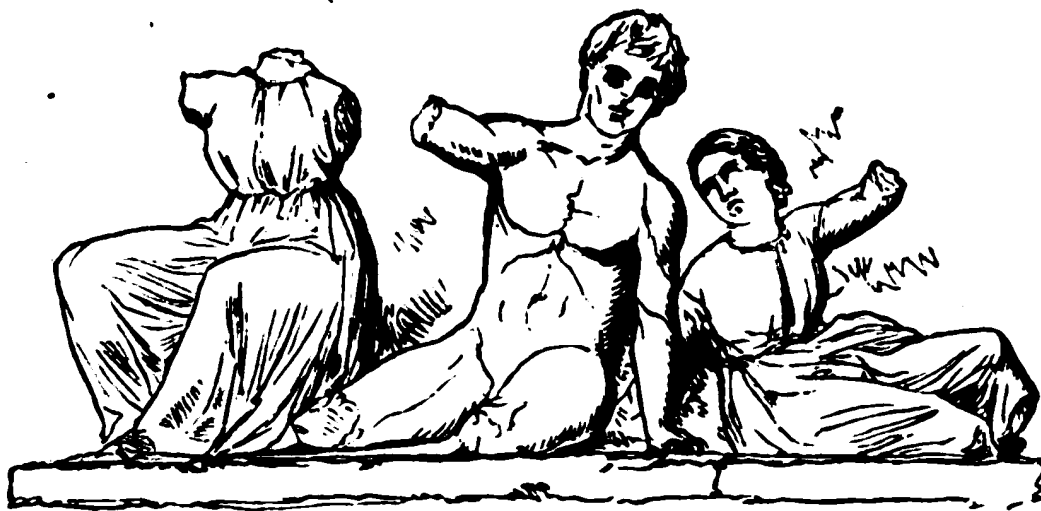
Lysander was succeeded by *Kallikratidas*, who in his first encounter with Konon, defeated him with great loss. The Athenians, on being informed of this, speedily equipped another numerous fleet, and near a group of small islands, called *Arginusæ*, defeated the Peloponnesians in a battle in which Kallikratidas was killed, and seventy ships were lost. After the battle a violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for the Athenian generals to collect the shipwrecked and the corpses. For this, an accusation was brought against them at Athens, and they were ordered to return to be tried. Six of them who obeyed the order went into their own destruction, for the people, goaded on by demagogues, condemned them all in a body to death. *Theramenes*, one of the generals, saved himself by throwing all the blame on his colleagues. On that occasion, *Sokrates* was one of the few who boldly condemned the proceedings against the generals as unjust.

Upon the death of Kallikratidas, *Lysander* again obtained the command of the Peloponnesian forces. In B.C. 405, he joined the fleet at Ephesus with large reinforcements, and soon after sailed to the Hellespont, whither he was followed by the Athenians. The latter encamped near a place called *Ægospotami*, opposite to Lampsakos, where the men had to leave their ships, in order to collect provisions. Alkibiades, who lived in the neighbourhood and saw their carelessness, cautioned them; but his advice was scorned. One day, when the Athenians, in their usual manner, were scattered over the country, Lysander attacked their fleet; and *Konon*, unable to assemble his forces, took to flight. The ships were captured, and the men on shore were killed or taken prisoners. Lysander then proceeded to subdue the allies of Athens, one after another, and sent their garrisons to Athens, in the hope of thereby creating a

famine in the city. While this was going on in the north, the Peloponnesian land-forces assembled, and encamped close to the gates of Athens; and soon after, Lysander appeared with his fleet before Peiræus. Athens was thus shut in on all sides, and the people, though without means of defending themselves, refused to surrender, until, compelled by famine, they entered into negotiation with the enemy. They were referred to the authorities at Sparta, and at last had to accept the following hard terms: 1. The long walls and the fortifications of Peiræus were to be demolished; 2. All ships except twelve were to be delivered up; 3. All the exiled oligarchs were to be recalled; 4. Athens was to have the same friends and enemies as Sparta; 5. All the allies of Athens were to be restored to independence, and Athens was to recognise the supremacy of Sparta. Theramenes, who had negotiated this peace, advised the desponding people to accept it. The terms were at once complied with, and when Lysander entered Peiræus, the work of demolition was commenced. Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 404, in which more blood had been shed than in all the previous wars put together, and in which Greece had become so much exhausted that she might easily have become the prey of a foreign conqueror.



RUINS OF THE AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.



THREE FIGURES FROM PARTHENON.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE PEACE OF ANTALKIDAS.

WHEN the work of demolition was completed, Lysander changed the government of Athens into an oligarchy. *Thirty* men, commonly called the *Thirty Tyrants*, were selected from among the partisans of Sparta, and entrusted with almost unlimited power. The franchise was left to only 3000 citizens, who alone were allowed to carry arms, and all the rest were placed beyond the protection of the law. After settling these matters, Lysander, laden with booty, returned to Sparta.

The *Thirty*, headed by the wealthy *Kritias*, at first punished only the obnoxious demagogues, but by-and-by they were not slow in finding pretexts for outlawing wealthy citizens, for no other reason but because they wished to possess themselves of their property. They inaugurated, in fact, a reign of terror, during which nearly 1400 Athenian citizens fell victims to their cruelty and avarice. About 5000 took to flight, and even towns previously hostile to Athens took pity upon the unfortunate exiles. The reckless cruelty of the *Thirty* went so far that even Theramenes, one of their number, expressed his disgust at their proceedings. *Kritias* thereupon charged him with treason, and had his name struck off the list of citizens, whereby he became an outlaw. He was thrown into prison, and had to take

the deadly hemlock. He bore his fate manfully, and thus made some atonement for the offences of his rather equivocal career.

But the day of retribution was not far off. *Thrasybulos*, one of the exiles, and an able general, had at first gone to Thebes; but being joined by seventy other exiles, he had taken possession of the small fortress of Phylæ, in the north of Attika. Notwithstanding the precautions of the Thirty, the number of exiles assembling in that place soon rose to 700; and supported by them, Thrasybulos, after defeating the forces of the tyrants, proceeded to Peiræus. The Thirty, fearing treachery in the city, ordered 300 suspected citizens to be put to death, and then marched down to Peiræus, where a battle was fought, in which the exiles were victorious, and Kritias, with many of his followers, was slain. The vanquished army retreated into the city, and the survivors of the Thirty withdrew to Eleusis. Their friends in the city, failing in the attempt to effect a compromise, sent to Sparta for assistance. An army, under Lysander, and a fleet were accordingly despatched to Athens; but the Spartan king, Pausanias, jealous of the military glory of Lysander, came to an understanding with Thrasybulos, who generously proclaimed a general amnesty, from which the survivors of the Thirty and their most guilty tools alone were exempted.

After this, Thrasybulos proceeded to the city, and exhorted the people to maintain peace and order, and to restore their old constitution. This advice was cheerfully followed; but when it became known that the oligarchs at Eleusis were planning an attack upon Athens, the citizens marched out in a body, and inflicted summary punishment upon them. Such was the end, in B.C. 403, of the rule of the Thirty and of the year of anarchy, as it is called in Athenian history. The democratic constitution was then restored, and a commission of 500 men was appointed to revise the laws.

Athens, though humbled and broken down, showed in the midst of its distress a spirit and a vitality such as

few other states have manifested in similar circumstances. Her intellectual vigour and activity continued, as if nothing unusual had happened. Art and literature in some respects rose even to a higher point of perfection than that attained in happier days. In poetry alone there was a falling off, for the place of fancy and imagination was gradually supplied by erudition and learning. The losses which Athens had sustained were soon repaired ; but the case of Sparta, though she had come out of the war victorious, was very different. The effects of her victory were ruinous to the character of her people. Foreign manners and luxuries found their way into Sparta, and formed a strong contrast to the spirit of her ancient constitution, of which the outward forms were nevertheless still observed. Owing to the intercourse with other nations, the use of money was introduced among the Spartans ; and as they were of an avaricious disposition, Spartan citizens soon became richer than those of any other state ; but the great wealth was accumulated in a few families. The number of 9000 citizens, owing to their spirit of exclusiveness, is said to have been reduced to 700, and even of these, no more than 100 enjoyed the full franchise, and lived in haughty seclusion from the rest of the people.

At Athens, on the other hand, the number of citizens was not materially diminished by the war and the pestilence, for aliens, and even slaves, were frequently rewarded with the franchise for having benefited the state by commerce or industry. It is true that unprincipled demagogues often exercised an injurious influence upon the people, and led them to spend large sums upon pleasures and amusements, which might have been better employed in the public service, but the mass of the people on all occasions displayed a peculiarly noble and humane disposition. Under the guidance of the wise Thrasybulos they reformed the old constitution so far as to make it a moderate democracy, under the watchful supervision of the Areiopagos ; and henceforth Athens enjoyed a period of internal tranquillity, until the time

of Philip of Macedonia, when party animosities again began to disturb her peace and happiness.

The golden age of Attic art and literature embraces a period of about 200 years, from the beginning of the Persian wars down to the death of Alexander the Great. During the first half of that period, poetry, as we have already seen, reached its highest development; and during the latter, oratory, philosophy, and historiography were cultivated with unparalleled success by such men as *Perikles* and *Demosthenes*, *Sokrates* and *Plato*, and *Thukydides* and *Xenophon*. *Sokrates*, indeed, did not himself write any works, and we know him chiefly through the writings of his disciples, *Xenophon* and *Plato*. He was truly said to have called philosophy down from heaven, and to have introduced it into the habitations of men, for before his time, philosophers had speculated about outward nature, the origin of the universe, etc.; but he directed all his attention to the moral nature of man and his duties and relations to his fellowmen. The novelty and method of his teaching, together with his leaning towards an aristocratic form of government, led his enemies to charge him with corrupting the young, and with disregarding the publicly recognised gods. When brought to trial, he defended himself fearlessly, disdaining to employ any unlawful means to obtain his acquittal, and when he was condemned to death at the age of seventy, he cheerfully drank the fatal cup, and died in B.C. 399.

We must now briefly notice an episode which, though properly no part of the history of Greece, throws light upon the character of its people. *Kyros*, a younger brother of the Persian king, *Artaxerxes*, had formed the design to overthrow his brother and seize upon his throne. With this object in view, he had favoured Sparta in her war against the Athenians, and with her assistance he now collected an army of malcontents from all parts of Greece. With this army, he set out from Sardes, in B.C. 401. He encountered his brother at *Kunaxa*, where a battle was fought, in which *Kyros* was killed. But the Greeks refused to surrender, and after

having been treacherously drawn into the interior of Asia, their leaders were murdered. *Xenophon*, the Athenian historian, who had accompanied the army as a volunteer, now undertook the command of his countrymen, dispelled their despair, and promised to conduct them back to Greece. They marched northward through unknown countries, pursued by their enemies, attacked by the fierce natives, and struggling with all kinds of untoward difficulties, until they reached the Greek town of Trapezus, on the Euxine. Their number, originally about 13,000, was reduced during their march to 8000. This retreat of the Greeks is one of the most remarkable in military history, and has been minutely described by *Xenophon* himself in his "Anabasis."

When, after the death of *Kyros*, *Tissaphernes* received the government of Asia Minor, the Greek cities refused to obey him, and invoked the assistance of Sparta. *Thimbron* accordingly was sent out with a large force, but effected little; and his successor, *Derkyllidas*, by negotiation gained over many of the Æolian towns, and then proceeded to the north to secure the Greek cities on the coast of Thrace. *Tissaphernes*, with another Persian satrap, met the Greek army on the banks of the Mæander, but instead of fighting a battle, a truce was concluded, B.C. 397, for the purpose of considering the terms of a peace proposed by *Derkyllidas*, who demanded the independence of the Asiatic Greeks. The proposal was accepted, on condition that the Greek garrisons should be withdrawn from the towns.

The year before this, the Spartan king, *Agis*, had died, and was succeeded by his brother, *Agesilaos*, one of the ablest generals that Sparta ever produced. At the very beginning of his reign, a conspiracy of the poor, headed by *Kinadon*, was formed against the wealthy Spartans, but was crushed by the prudence of *Agesilaos*. As it became known that Persia was making preparations for subduing the Asiatic Greeks, *Agesilaos* and *Lysander* sailed with a large armament to Ephesus; but *Tissaphernes*, not being quite ready, concluded a truce, only

to gain time to collect his forces. When Agesilaos saw through this scheme, he marched against the treacherous Persian, and completely defeated him in the neighbourhood of Sardes. Tissaphernes, in consequence of this loss, was deprived of his post, and put to death by his successor, Tithraustes, who bribed the Spartan king to direct his forces against Pharnabazus, another satrap. In this undertaking, Agesilaos was so successful that he formed a plan of carrying the war into the heart of Persia; but in the midst of his preparations for this expedition he was recalled to Sparta, B.C. 394.

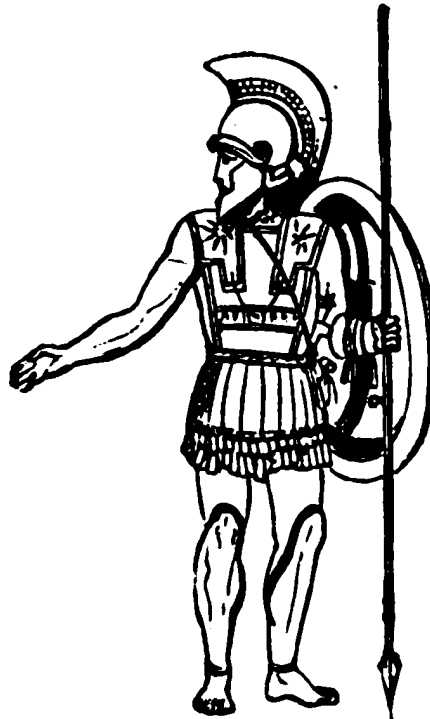
While Agesilaos had been pursuing his victorious career, Tithraustes had been stirring up, by bribery, the Greeks against Sparta, and accordingly a coalition was formed by the leading states against the Spartans, who had become odious to all the Greeks, on account of the cruelty of the governors (*harmostæ*) whom she had sent into the cities which she professed to have freed from the tyranny of Athens. The Phokians, being attacked by the Lokrians, applied to Sparta for assistance. An army, commanded by Lysander, was despatched to the scene of the war, and on its passage through Bœotia, in B.C. 395, made an attack upon Haliartos. The Thebans, siding with the Lokrians, hastened to the assistance of the town, and in the ensuing engagement Lysander was killed. The confederates now held a meeting at Korinth, and their alliance was readily joined by other states. At the same time, the King of Persia engaged *Konon*, a distinguished Athenian exile, to equip a fleet against Sparta; and it was at this critical moment that Agesilaos was recalled. He came down through the northern countries, and on his arrival in Greece the war with the confederates had already commenced. They tried to prevent the Spartans from proceeding northward, but were defeated in the neighbourhood of Nemea. When, at last, Agesilaos arrived in Bœotia, late in the year B.C. 394, he received information that the whole of the Spartan fleet had been utterly defeated off Knidos. A few days later, Agesilaos engaged in a battle against the confederates

near Koroneia, where both parties fought with the utmost exasperation, but Agesilaos gained the day. He then went home and disbanded his army. The war, however, was continued in the territory of Korinth with the greatest bitterness; and although the Korinthian port of Lechæon fell into the hands of the Spartans, yet the Korinthians, aided by the Athenian Iphikrates, maintained themselves successfully against their enemies, who were now commanded by Agesilaos. The Greek cities in Asia Minor had, in the meantime, been delivered from their Spartan governors with the help of Konon and Pharnabazus, both of whom, in B.C. 393, ravaged the coasts of Lakonia, and seized the island of Kythera. The Greeks were amply supplied by Persia with subsidies against Sparta, and Konon even obtained the consent of Pharnabazus to rebuild the walls of Athens, a work which was completed as early as 392. Sparta's maritime power was now gone, and Athens was fast recovering her former supremacy. But the Spartans, in order to avenge themselves, had recourse to intrigues for the purpose of destroying the power and influence of Konon. The crafty *Antalkidas* was sent out to make to the Persian satrap, Tiribazus, proposals of a peace in which the Asiatic Greeks were to be handed over to the king. The satrap, notwithstanding the opposition of Konon and others, entered into the scheme, and even supplied Sparta with the means of building another fleet, and then took Konon prisoner. But soon after, quarrels arose among the satraps, who then gave up their support of Sparta, and transferred it to Athens.

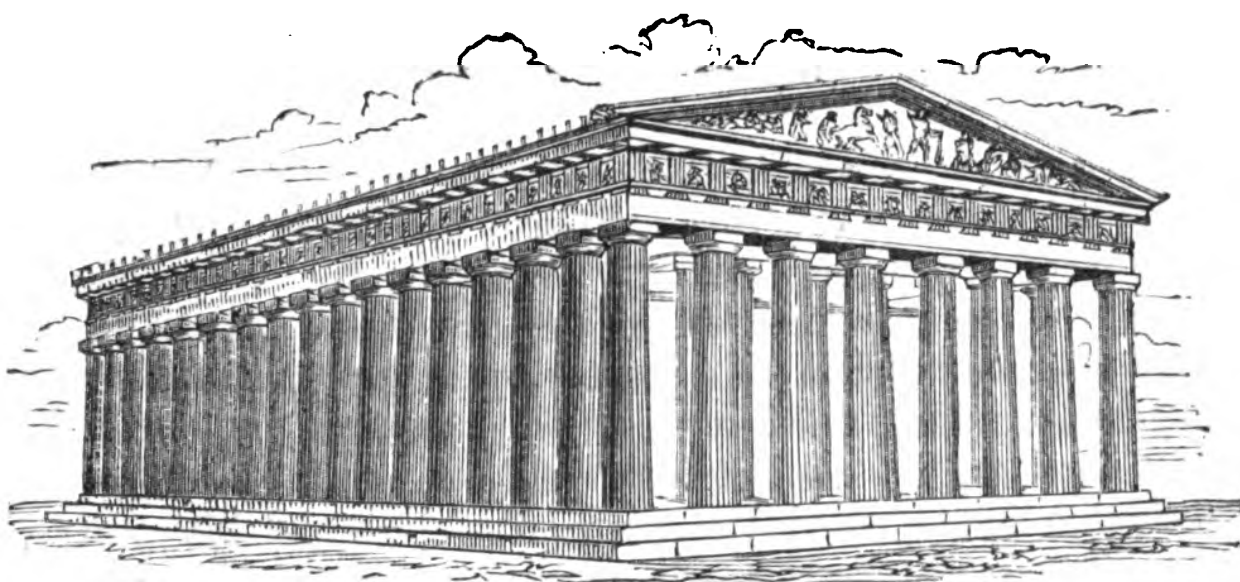
In Europe, the Spartans had, in the meantime, gained some advantages, and checked some of the proceedings of the Athenians. In these circumstances, the latter sent out the aged *Thrasybulos* with a considerable fleet, with which he was at first very successful on the coast of Thrace and in the Ægæan, but he fell in an engagement at Aspendos. This brave and noble commander was succeeded by the reckless and effeminate *Agyrrhios*, in consequence of which the Spartans recovered many of

their lost places, and even harassed Attika from the island of Ægina, of which they had made themselves masters.

While these things were going on in Greece, *Antalkidas* again went to Asia, determined this time to bring about a peace with Persia. The plan was facilitated by the fact that the Athenians, tired of the war, were also turning their thoughts to peace. Accordingly, they also, joined by the Corinthians and Argives, sent envoys to Tiribazus; and a peace, commonly called the *Peace of Antalkidas*, was concluded in B.C. 387, on the following terms: That the Greek cities in Asia, together with Klazomenæ and Kyprus, should belong to Persia; but that all other Greek towns should be free and independent, with the exception of the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which belonged to the Athenians. According to this peace, the leading states ought to have set free the smaller towns in their respective territories. But Thebes and Argos, not being inclined to comply with this stipulation, had to be compelled by threats. Sparta, itself, which ought to have set an example to the other states, continued to exercise its sovereignty over Lakonia and Messenia.



GREEK WARRIOR.



RESTORED PARTHENON.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE PEACE OF ANTALKIDAS TO THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEIA.

THE peace of Antalkidas was never completely carried out, so far as the towns of Greece were concerned. Sparta not only maintained the sovereignty over her former subjects, but extended it over the whole of Peloponnesus, with the exception of Argos, which maintained its independence. Not satisfied with this, Sparta even presumed to interfere in the affairs of the states of Northern Greece. These latter endeavoured to secure themselves by a coalition, of which Olynthos was the head. A report that Athens and Bœotia intended to join the coalition, led the Spartans to send out a force under Eudamidas, who at once took possession of Potidæa. Soon after, a larger army followed, under the command of *Phæbidas*. While he was passing through Bœotia, the oligarchical party at Thebes betrayed the city into his hands, and Ismenias, the leader of the popular party, was arrested and put to death. The principal men of the popular party, about 300 in number, took refuge in Athens. One of them was *Pelopidas*, whose eminent friend *Epaminondas* remained at Thebes unmolested, because there was nothing about him to frighten the oligarchs.

The war against *Olynthos* lasted from B.C. 383 to 379, when its inhabitants were compelled by famine to con-

clude a peace in which they had to recognise the supremacy of their conquerors. Sparta had now reached the height of its power and influence, for the other states were too much weakened to venture upon a fresh war. But the year of Sparta's greatest prosperity was also the beginning of her decline.

Pelopidas, in conjunction with a small number of fellow-exiles, formed the plan of delivering his native city, which was kept in subjection by a Spartan garrison. One night he and his friends entered Thebes in disguise, and being joined by others, they proceeded to the houses of the oligarchs and put them to death. The citizens, being called out to assert their freedom, assembled at daybreak in arms, while an Athenian force was hastening to their assistance. The Spartan harmost was obliged to capitulate, but he and his garrison were allowed to depart unhurt, and only those who had assisted in betraying the city into the enemy's hands were punished with death. When Sparta was informed of these events, she resolved to crush Thebes by force of arms, and thus commenced the *Theban War*, which lasted from B.C. 378 to 362; but it was not confined to these two states, all Greece taking part in it more or less. Under the able guidance of *Epaminondas*, Thebes recovered the supremacy over the Bœotian towns, and Athens her maritime ascendancy, while Sparta was humbled. But the unfortunate war of Greeks against Greeks paved the way for their subjugation by Macedonia.

During the first two years, the Spartans invaded and ravaged Bœotia, the Thebans maintaining the defensive behind their fortifications, while *Pelopidas* formed and trained an excellent army. Athens, now in alliance with Thebes, brought about a powerful confederation against Sparta, and concluded alliances with the principal maritime states, such as Chios, Byzantium, Rhodes, and Mitylene. Its navy was thereby greatly increased, and its wisdom and moderation secured to it the confidence and attachment of its confederates. In the third year of the war, the Lakedæmonians were repulsed by the

Athenians in their attempt to march into Bœotia. Upon this the Spartans equipped a fleet, partly to transport their troops into Bœotia, and partly to harass the coasts of Attika; but it was destroyed off Naxos by the Athenians under *Chabrias*, and at the same time an Athenian fleet under *Timotheos* laid waste the coasts of Peloponnesus, and induced Kephallenia, Akarnania, and some Epirot tribes to join the Athenian confederacy. By this means, Thebes was protected against any further attacks, and enabled to effect the submission of the Bœotian towns.

The success of Thebes, however, was beginning to excite fear and alarm at Athens, and thus led the Athenians to conclude a peace with Sparta, on the basis of that of Antalkidas. The Thebans, of course, refused to be a party to it; and some Bœotian towns trying to assert their freedom, were razed to the ground. Athens, however, pursued her own course, leaving Sparta to continue the war against Thebes. The feeling then prevailing in Greece was almost like that which had divided the nation during the Peloponnesian war, for everywhere the oligarchs were at war with the democracy, and being no longer supported by Sparta, the democrats nearly everywhere gained the upper hand. The Athenian general *Iphikrates* was fighting successfully in the cause of democracy, when in B.C. 373, negotiations for peace were again commenced, the King of Persia being this time invited to act as mediator. Accordingly the peace of Antalkidas was renewed and accepted by both Athens and Sparta, but Thebes did not join in it, as she insisted upon maintaining her supremacy over the Bœotian towns.

Immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the Spartan king, *Kleombrotos*, invaded Bœotia, but the Thebans, though without allies, being commanded by her brave and able citizens, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, gained a most complete victory at Leuktra, in B.C. 371. In that battle, Kleombrotos with 400 Spartans, and upwards of 3000 Lakonians, were slain. Sparta's military prestige was gone, and her Peloponnesian subjects

began to throw off her yoke. All the Arkadian communities united and began to build a great capital, called Megalopolis. They relied upon help from Thebes, which, after strengthening itself by several new alliances, invaded Peloponnesus, in B.C. 369, under the command of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. On their arrival in the peninsula, they were joined by many Peloponnesians, and marched against Sparta. The Spartans were almost paralysed with fear, but as the first attack on the city produced little effect, Epaminondas proceeded to Gythion, which he set on fire, and then turned into Messenia. Large numbers of Helots and Spartan subjects here flocked to his standards, and he proclaimed the *independence of Messenia*, the severest blow that could have been inflicted on Sparta. Messenians from all parts were invited to return to their ancient homes, and the building of a new capital, Messene, at the foot of Mount Ithome, was forthwith commenced. After an absence of scarcely three months, Epaminondas returned home.

Sparta in her distress had applied to Athens for assistance, and with their usual generosity, the Athenian people sent Iphikrates into Peloponnesus, but he was unable to cut off the return of Epaminondas. A treaty of alliance was then concluded between Athens and Sparta, according to which the command of their united forces should belong alternately to each of the two states.

In B.C. 368, Epaminondas again invaded Peloponnesus, and defeated the hostile armies stationed on the isthmus to prevent his entering the peninsula. Several Peloponnesian towns joined him of their own accord, but others had to be compelled. The condition of Sparta, however, was now somewhat improved, for she had received succour from Sicily ; and the Arkadians, in consequence of their arrogance, were forsaken by their Theban protectors. Just at this crisis the King of Persia sent envoys, advising the belligerents to conclude peace, but the Thebans peremptorily declared that they would not set free their subjects. The war therefore was continued, although just then another enemy arose in the north, against whom Thebes

had to employ a part of her forces. *Jason*, tyrant of *Pheræ*, who had the command of all the Thessalian towns, seeing the distressed state of Greece, had conceived the idea of making himself master of it. He therefore had tried to interfere in the war between Thebes and Sparta, but soon after the battle of *Leuktra* he had been assassinated. *Alexander*, who afterwards succeeded to the tyrannis, became involved in a war with Thebes, in consequence of which *Pelopidas* in B.C. 368, invaded Thessaly, but was taken prisoner, and it was only after repeated attempts that *Epaminondas* succeeded in effecting his liberation. Some years later, when *Pelopidas* had again entered Thessaly, to free the towns from their cruel and reckless tyrant, he was killed in a battle at *Kynoskephalæ*, though his army was victorious, and compelled the tyrant to restore the independence of the Thessalian towns, and to enter into an alliance with Thebes, B.C. 364.

In the meantime the Arkadian state had been crushed, in B.C. 367, by the Spartans in a battle in which 10,000 Arkadians and not a single Spartan are said to have fallen. The year after this battle, *Epaminondas* invaded Peloponnesus for the third time, but without producing any lasting effect. Several states indeed wished for peace, but a war which broke out in B.C. 365, between Arkadia and Elis, destroyed all hope of it. Sparta supported Elis, but the Arkadians defeated both, and took possession of the temple of Olympia. A dispute then arose among them as to what should be done with the temple treasures, and the Theban commander arrested a number of persons who had advised to spend the treasures upon the army. The Arkadians, *Mantineia* at their head, enraged at this interference, called upon all the Peloponnesians to assert their independence of Thebes. But *Epaminondas* was already approaching with allies from Eubœa and Thessaly, and was joined in Peloponnesus by the Argives, Messenians, and some Arkadian towns. The Lakonians with their allies were encamped near *Mantineia*, where *Epaminondas* resolved to fight a de-

cisive battle. His first attack was made with such vehemence, that the enemies were overpowered and put to flight, but he himself was mortally wounded in his breast by a spear. He refused to have the weapon extracted, until he was assured of the complete victory of his troops. When he was informed of this, the iron was removed, and he bled to death.

This battle of Mantinea, which was fought in B.C. 362, is one of the most important in Greek history. Thebes, which had for a short period risen from comparative obscurity, and exercised its influence in the affairs of Greece, suddenly fell from its proud position, for it owed its power solely to its two great citizens, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, and after their death there was no one to take their place. But Sparta's power was broken, and a peace was at length concluded, in B.C. 361, in which the independence of Messenia was recognised. The great *Agésilas*, who had gone to Egypt to support a rebellion against Persia, died in the same year.

Ever since the time of the Peloponnesian war, it had become more and more customary among the Greeks to carry on their wars by means of mercenaries, while the citizens remained at home, enjoying the pleasures and luxuries of life, and losing their warlike spirit. Athens, which in many respects was carried away by the general current, nevertheless displayed at times an energy and a patriotism worthy of the descendants of the men who fought at Marathon and Salamis. Unprincipled leaders of the people often sold and betrayed their country, while the people thoughtlessly followed them and allowed their country to drift into danger.

While nearly all the states of Greece were in this condition, a power was rising in the north, which threatened the independence, and in the end crushed the liberty of Greece. That power was the kingdom of *Macedonia*. Its inhabitants appear to have been a mixture of Pelasgians and Illyrians; the Greeks called them barbarians—that is, foreigners,—but the royal family traced its origin to Karanos, an Argive prince. The early

history of this kingdom is very obscure. The first king who did much to introduce Greek civilisation among his subjects was *Archelaos*, who reigned from B.C. 413 to B.C. 399. We have already noticed that the kings of Macedonia occasionally interfered in the quarrels of the Greeks. At the time at which we have now arrived, the kingdom was governed by *Philip*, son of Amyntas. He had been taken to Thebes as a hostage by Pelopidas, when the latter had been called upon to mediate between two pretenders to the throne of Macedonia. Philip was still living at Thebes in B.C. 359, when the King of Macedonia died ; he now made his escape into Macedonia to establish his claim to the throne. After having got rid of two pretenders, he came into conflict with the Athenians, who were trying to extend their dominion on the Thracian coast, while Philip's object was to drive them altogether from it. During his residence at Thebes, he had become acquainted with the character and manners of the Greeks, whose civilisation he highly appreciated. He was a man of extraordinary gifts, uniting in his person the prudence, cunning, and cleverness of an expert politician, with the talents of a general, the energy and perseverance of a soldier, and the liberality of a king. His Macedonian army was far superior to the mercenaries employed by the Greeks. When he wished to obtain an object, he was as successful in the art of bribery as in that of war ; and promises, even oaths, were no obstacles to him, if by their violation, he could gain his ends.

While Philip was extending his kingdom in the west and in the east, Athens, being engaged in what is called the *Social War*, from B.C. 357 to B.C. 355, was unable to offer any resistance. The social war was one which Athens had to wage against her revolted allies, headed by Chios. The Athenian commander, *Chares*, a short-sighted and incompetent man, entered into negotiation with a rebellious Persian satrap, in consequence of which the King of Persia threatened to support the allies with his fleet. Athens was thereby frightened into concluding a peace in which she lost her most valued allies,

and a great part of her revenue. Philip of Macedonia had in the meantime been called upon to assist the Thessalian towns against *Lykophron*, the tyrant of Pheræ and murderer of his predecessor. Philip accomplished the task, and thereby secured the support of the Thessalian towns in his own schemes. He did not, however, depose the tyrant, as he hoped to make use of him also in any future emergency. Such an opportunity occurred soon after in what is called the *Sacred War*, from B.C. 355 to B.C. 346, which arose in the following manner.

The Thebans, still bent upon maintaining the position they had occupied under Pelopidas and Epaminondas, accused the Phokians before the Council of Amphiktyons of having taken into cultivation a piece of land which had been regarded as accursed. The Amphiktyons finding the Phokians guilty, demanded a very heavy fine, and ordered them to destroy the work of their own hands. As the Phokians refused, war was forthwith declared against them to vindicate the honour of Apollo. The Phokians had meanwhile taken possession of the temple of Delphi and its treasures, and on the advice of their leader, *Philomelos*, had converted the gold and silver into money, to defray the expenses of the war. For a time *Philomelos* was successful, but in B.C. 352, he fell in battle, and was succeeded by his brother *Onomarchos*, who used the temple treasures most unscrupulously in bribery as well as in meeting the necessary expenditure. He also gained the support of *Lykophron* of Pheræ, by aiding him against the Thessalian towns. Philip of Macedonia supported the tyrant, and after having suffered some reverses, he fought a fierce battle, in which the Macedonians proclaimed themselves the champions of Apollo, and gained the victory over their enemies. Athens and Sparta were allied with the Phokians, and an Athenian fleet was stationed near Thermopylæ; *Onomarchos*, in trying to reach it, perished. He was succeeded by his brother *Phayllos*, who was joined by *Lykophron* with a large body of mercenaries. Philip's object was to penetrate into the heart of Greece, but

being prevented by the Athenian fleet, he returned to Macedonia. Having, however, become the champion of the Amphiktyons, he had acquired a sort of right to interfere in the affairs of Greece. The great Athenian orator *Demosthenes*, even at this early time, saw through the schemes of the wily Macedonian, and warned his countrymen against him. Phayllos continued the war very vigorously, though he was beaten several times; but in B.C. 351 he died of an illness, and was succeeded by *Phalækos*, who was likewise unsuccessful, but fearfully ravaged Bœotia. The Thebans, notwithstanding the subsidies they received from Persia, were in the end defeated by the Phokians in a great battle near Koroneia, in B.C. 346, after which many Bœotian towns fell into the hands of the enemy.

When thus hard pressed, the Thebans sought the assistance of Philip. At Athens, Demosthenes was stirring up the people to send help to the town of *Olynthos*, which was attacked by Philip. The great orator, who clearly saw the danger, tried to unite all Greece against the common enemy. But it was of no avail; Olynthos and other places were taken and destroyed; and while the king was continuing his conquests, he yet commenced negotiations for peace with Athens. The people there allowed themselves to be lulled into security, and even Demosthenes for a time thought that the Macedonians might be trusted. It was just at this time, B.C. 346, that the Thebans applied to Philip for assistance against the Phokians. As by this time the Athenians had become desirous of peace, ambassadors were sent to the king to arrange the terms. Philip, in order to please the Thebans, excluded the Phokians from the negotiations, and Athens accepted the terms. But when the document was sent to Philip for his signature, the envoys were detained while the king continued his conquests. When at last he had signed the peace, and the envoys had returned to Athens, he marched through the pass of Thermopylæ against the Phokians. Their leader *Phalækos* in despair made his peace with Philip, and with-

drew from the contest. The Phokians, now without a leader, surrendered to Philip on the understanding that he would plead their cause with the Amphiktyons. But they were bitterly deceived, for they were for ever excluded from the Amphiktyonic league, and had to deliver up their arms; their towns were destroyed, and they were ordered annually to pay a very heavy sum to the temple at Delphi. This verdict was carried into effect without mercy, by the Thebans and the Macedonian soldiers. Many of the Bœotian towns also were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Thebes, and large numbers of their inhabitants were sold into slavery.

Philip now stepped into the place of the Phokians in the Amphiktyonic Council, and obtained some important privileges. The terrible fate of the Phokians alarmed the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, but their fears were allayed by the orator Æschines, who was bribed by Philip; and as Athens was not in a condition to enter upon a fresh war, Demosthenes himself advised the people to remain quiet and not to oppose the decree against the Phokians.

While the Sacred War had been raging in central and northern Greece, Sparta had been endeavouring to recover her supremacy in Peloponnesus. At the same time a Macedonian party had been formed in several towns of the peninsula, for Philip everywhere fostered dissensions, in the hope of finding an opportunity to interfere, for he aimed at nothing short of the supremacy of all Greece. The Athenians, perceiving this, tried to bring about a peace among the Peloponnesians. Demosthenes, more than any one else, saw through Philip's schemes, and tried to convince his countrymen of the danger that was impending over them. But though Philip, in spite of all treaties, pursued his conquests in all directions, the crafty deceiver made them believe that he was really concerned only about the preservation of peace.

The Athenians did, indeed, some things to counteract the king's influence; and when, at last, in B.C. 340, he laid seige to the towns of Perinthos and Byzantium, they

made up their minds at once; and even the King of Persia had become so alarmed at the progress of the Macedonian, that he sent out a force to assist the Greeks. However, it was impossible to bring about a coalition of the Greek states. *Phokion*, who now commanded the Athenian army, was successful in repelling the king, and thereby raised the spirits of the Athenians to such a degree that, in B.C. 339, they renounced the peace with him. Soon after this, the Amphiktyons appointed Philip commander-in-chief of their army, commissioning him to make war against the town of *Amphissa*, which was charged with having brought under cultivation a district sacred to Apollo. Philip, of course, gladly seized the opportunity, which had been partly brought about by his own intrigues, and proceeded at once against *Amphissa*, at the same time stirring up the ancient enmity between Thebes and Athens. *Amphissa* was easily reduced, but he nevertheless remained with his large army in Lokris, and the next year he suddenly seized upon the towns of *Elateia* and *Kytinion*.

This act of violence at once opened the eyes of all the Greeks; and the Athenians, on the advice of Demosthenes, concluded an alliance with Thebes. Their enthusiasm to maintain the liberty of Greece was immense, and reinforcements were gathered from all parts of the country. At first the Greeks were successful; but in B.C. 338 a decisive battle was fought in the plain of *Chæroneia*. The issue was long undecided, but in the end the Greeks were completely defeated. One thousand Athenians fell, and 2000 were taken prisoners. This battle decided the fate of Greece, and Philip was master of the situation; but he showed, on the whole, a wise moderation. The Athenians, after recovering from their first terror and consternation, refused to listen to any proposals of peace. Demosthenes and other patriots did their best to fan this spirit of resistance, but their enthusiasm lacked the means of giving it effect, and in the end an embassy was sent to Philip to ratify the terms of the peace he offered. The Athenians had to

give up Samos, and to promise to send deputies to a general congress which was to meet at Korinth in B.C. 337. The Macedonian king was now the real master of Greece; but Athens, under the able management of men like Demosthenes, Phokion, and Lykurgos, still maintained an honourable position and a high degree of prosperity. The Thebans had to pay dearly for having abandoned the alliance with Philip: their citadel was occupied by a Macedonian garrison, and they lost the supremacy over the Bœotian towns. The greater part of the Peloponnesians likewise acknowledged Philip as their sovereign. In the spring of B.C. 337, deputies from all parts of Greece met in congress at Korinth; Sparta alone was not represented. In this assembly, Philip declared that the final object of all his undertakings was to chastise Persia for the wrongs she had inflicted upon the Greeks. This declaration was received with general approbation, and the king was at once appointed commander-in-chief of all the Greek forces. Preparations were forthwith made on a large scale, and every Greek state had to furnish its contingent. Some troops were at once sent into Asia, under the command of Attalos and Parmenion; Philip himself was detained in Europe by family affairs. In the following year, B.C. 336, great festivities were going on in his capital of Pella, to celebrate the marriage of his daughter, Kleopatra, with Alexander of Epirus, when Philip was suddenly murdered at the entrance of the theatre by a person who had been wronged by him. The people and the army at once demanded his son Alexander for his successor. That young prince, only twenty years old, had already distinguished himself on several occasions by his valour. The kingdom, at this moment, was in a perilous position, for the death of Philip made a deep impression; and both the barbarians in the north, and the Greeks in the south were in commotion, imagining that the day had now come for recovering their independence. But all difficulties were soon overcome by the genius of young Alexander.



DEMOSTHENES.

CHAPTER XI.

GREECE DURING THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Alexander the Great had been most carefully educated by Aristotle, the greatest of all Greek philosophers, and his mind was so thoroughly imbued with a love of Greek art and literature, that he may be regarded as a real and true Greek. When his father's death became known at Athens, the old enthusiasm for freedom rose to such a pitch, that the people voted a golden crown for the murderer of Philip, no one believing that the "Boy of Pella," as they contemptuously called Alexander, would be able to keep the conquests of his father together ; but they did not know the spirit and energy of the young king. After he had gained possession of the throne, he marched into Thessaly to assert his supremacy over Greece, sword in hand. Little resistance was there offered to him, and with unexpected rapidity he advanced southward. The Amphiktyonic Council at once did homage to him, and as the leading states, Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, did not send deputies to greet him, he straightway marched into Bœotia and encamped at the very gates of Thebes. The Athenians, now discovering that they had judged him wrongly, sued for pardon, which was granted on condition of their sending deputies to the congress sitting at Corinth. Alexander himself appeared there, and was appointed commander-in-chief of all the Greeks against Persia. The congress was en-

trusted with the management of all the affairs of Greece, and was to remain permanent until the king's return. Sparta alone stubbornly refused to send deputies.

When the submission of Greece was thus secured, he returned to Macedonia, in B.C. 335, and immediately proceeded against the northern and western barbarians who were threatening his kingdom. In these campaigns he had to encounter the most terrible difficulties, but his energy and personal bravery overcame them all. In Illyricum, however, he was detained for a considerable time, in consequence of which a report was spread that he had been killed. This rumour stirred up all the Greeks that were hostile to Macedonia, and the King of Persia caused large sums of money to be distributed among them. Thebes, together with several other states, at once rose in arms; and the Athenian patriots, Demosthenes at their head, induced the people to declare war against Macedonia. At Thebes the Macedonian garrison was besieged in the akropolis, but all of a sudden Alexander appeared with a large army in Bœotia, and Thebes after a short but brave defence was taken. Alexander, wishing to make an example, inflicted the severest punishment upon it; the city, with the exception of the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, was razed to the ground. Six thousand men had fallen during the siege, and the surviving 20,000 were sold as slaves.

The fate of Thebes made a deep impression upon all Greece, and the Athenians were the first to send ambassadors to implore the king's mercy. The petition was granted on condition that Demosthenes and Lykurgos should be delivered up to him. But this demand was not insisted upon, Alexander being most desirous of securing the goodwill of the Athenians, for whom he entertained the greatest respect. In the autumn he returned to Macedonia and made preparations for the expedition against Persia. In the spring of B.C. 334, he proceeded with a considerable army to Sestos, where his fleet was ready to carry them into Asia. *Antipater* was left behind as regent of the kingdom. Alexander's army, though small in comparison

with the myriads at the disposal of the Persian king, consisted of Macedonians, barbarian subjects, and only about 7000 Greeks, for large numbers of the latter, disdaining to serve under their conqueror, had gone to Asia and entered the army of King Darius. Among these were some men of great ability, such as *Memnon*, a Rhodian, who undertook the command of the Persian fleet, and kept up the connection between Persia and the European Greeks.

When Alexander entered Asia, he was accompanied by poets, historians, and philosophers, who were to immortalise his exploits, and gather information about the nations and countries never before visited by Europeans. His generals were the most eminent of the time, and two of them, *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulos*, afterwards wrote accounts of their master's expedition, but their works have perished. At Troy the young king, an enthusiastic admirer of Achilles, offered sacrifices to the Greek heroes, which was of course flattering to the Greek portion of his army. His first encounter with the Persian forces took place on the banks of the little river *Granikos*, where he completely defeated them, though they were far superior in numbers. The result of this victory was that nearly all Asia Minor submitted to him, especially the Greek cities, which welcomed him as a Greek delivering them from the barbarians. The city of Halikarnassos alone offered a brave but ineffectual resistance. Memnon, who had done much by means of Persian gold to stir up the European Greeks, suddenly died, which must have been a great relief to the king, who now marched through Kilikia, where he contracted a severe illness by bathing in the icy waters of the river Kydnos, but he was saved by the skill of his physician.

The Persian monarch now advanced with a large army to oppose the invaders at the mountain passes leading from Kilikia into Syria, and a great battle was fought at *Issos*, in B.C. 333, in which the barbarians were completely routed. The booty made by Alexander was immense; and among the prisoners were the king's mother, his wife,

and two daughters, all of whom were treated with courtesy and generosity. He then advanced into Phœnicia and Palestine, where no resistance was offered; but the city of *Tyre* refused to surrender, and had to be compelled by a memorable siege which lasted seven months. All its inhabitants who could not escape were massacred or sold into slavery, and the city was destroyed, B.C. 332. The town of Gaza experienced the same fate.

Alexander then marched into Egypt, where the Macedonians were welcomed as deliverers from the detested dominion of the Persians. He not only treated the Egyptians with great consideration, but visited the temple of their god Ammon in the western desert, where the priests declared him to be a son of the god. This at once increased his authority, and made him appear to the superstitious Egyptians as one of themselves. While he was engaged in Egypt, where he founded the city of *Alexandria* near the mouth of the Nile, Darius assembled a fresh army to meet the invaders; but before entering upon any decisive step, he tried to purchase peace by certain concessions. Alexander's mind, however, was bent upon anything but peace. He marched into Asia, crossed the Euphrates and Tigris, and met the Persian army, in B.C. 331, near *Gaugamela*, where he again defeated his enemies, though their army is said to have been twenty times more numerous than his own. The Persian capitals, Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and Egbatana, with their vast treasures, fell into his hands, and Persepolis was wantonly destroyed by fire. The unfortunate Darius, after this defeat, fled eastward, but was murdered by Bessus, one of his own satraps.

During the following years, Alexander, by the boldest marches through mountainous regions, conquered the countries to the south and east of the Caspian, which were inhabited by hardy and warlike tribes. Several colonies, called after him *Alexandria*, were founded in those distant countries, and became centres of Greek commerce and civilisation. At Bactra he married, in B.C. 328, Roxana, the daughter of a Bactrian chief. As

he still continued to advance eastward, his Macedonians began openly to show their discontent, but he nevertheless pushed onward, determined to reach the wondrous land of *India*, and in B.C. 327 he crossed the river Indus. The Indians offered a more vigorous resistance than he had encountered in Persia, and more than once his own life was in imminent danger. But what contributed to his success was the jealousy among the Indian chiefs, some of whom allied themselves with him against their neighbours. The most powerful among them was *Porus*, against whom he had to fight a fearful battle, in which 20,000 Indians were slain, and Porus himself was wounded and taken prisoner. After having founded several colonies, Alexander advanced towards the river Hyphasis, and intended even to reach the Ganges. But the Macedonians now showed such strong opposition to any further progress eastward, that the king was obliged to give in, and made up his mind to return. Leaving the Indian chiefs in the possession of their dominions, on condition of their recognising his supremacy, he sailed down the river Hydaspes to explore the mouths of the Indus and the Indian Ocean.

Alexander and his army returned by land through the fearful desert of Gedrosia, while the fleet, under the admiral Nearchos, sailed along the coast into the Persian Gulf. The sufferings of the army on its march through the desert consisting of fine dust and sand, under a scorching sun and without water, were indescribable. Although the march lasted only two months, yet three-fourths of the men died a miserable death. When, the year after this, B.C. 325, he reached Persia, he rewarded the gallant survivors most liberally, and those who were incapable of further service were sent back to Europe with rich presents. Alexander did not treat the Persians as a conquered people, but respected their religion as well as their national customs; and in order to conciliate them still more, or we should perhaps rather say, to gratify his own vanity and ambition, he adopted the pomp and ceremony of an eastern despot, demanding of his European soldiers

the same prostration and adoration as was usually paid to eastern sovereigns.

He further tried to strengthen the union between the West and the East by marriages of Macedonians with Persian women. He himself took Barsine, one of Darius's daughters, for his second wife; and upwards of 10,000 Macedonians received Persian wives with rich dowries from their king. These marriages, celebrated with extraordinary festivities, offended many Macedonians, unable to bear the idea of Asiatic barbarians being raised to an equality with themselves, and accordingly, in B.C. 324, a mutiny broke out among the troops. It was indeed easily suppressed, but *Philotas*, one of his best generals, who had put himself at the head of the malcontents, was put to death. Other men also, among them the philosopher *Kallisthenes*, who openly blamed the king for his conduct, were treated with revolting cruelty; and it is evident that the king's head had been turned by the worship paid him by the Orientals and by worthless flatterers among his own people.

Alexander chose *Babylon* as the capital of his empire, and there surrounded himself with a most brilliant court, receiving the homage and congratulations from the remotest parts of the earth. Banquets and drunken revels followed one another in rapid succession, and various acts of cruelty were committed which the king afterwards bitterly regretted. Thus his brave general, *Kleitos*, who had excited the king's anger, was slain at a banquet, though that very man had once saved the king's life.

While at Babylon, Alexander was forming vast plans for conquering the West, Africa and the whole of southern Europe. But the perpetual excitement had weakened his physical strength, and in the midst of his preparations for further conquests he was attacked by a fever, which after eleven days terminated his life, about the middle of the year B.C. 323. His body was embalmed and carried to Alexandria in Egypt. A successor had never been appointed, but on his death-bed the king had given his seal-ring to Perdikkas.

The conquests of Alexander made a lasting impression upon Asia, and the Greek colonies he had planted in the distant east long survived him, and Greek kingdoms formed on the borders of India maintained themselves for centuries. Western Asia, and Egypt in particular, became centres of Greek culture and civilisation. Eastern Asia and its populations had become known to Europeans, and vast fields were opened to commerce, and especially to the sciences of geography and ethnology. Greek civilisation was in fact spread from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus. But the colossal fabric raised by Alexander fell to pieces as soon as his mighty hand was withdrawn.

Let us now cast a glance at what happened in Greece during Alexander's expedition. In B.C. 333, the Spartan king Agis formed a Peloponnesian confederacy for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of Macedonia, and he was supported by Memnon and some Persian satraps. The Athenians also felt inclined to join the movement, but the want of means obliged them to remain quiet. Alexander moreover tried to keep them in good humour by sending messages and valuable presents to them. But Sparta was determined to force all Peloponnesus into the confederacy. On hearing of this, the regent Antipater invaded the peninsula with a large army, and the Spartans, notwithstanding their great valour, were defeated in a decisive battle near *Megalopolis*. Sparta, thus humbled, sued for peace, but its request was referred to the congress at Corinth, where peace was granted to her on condition of her joining the rest of Greece in recognising the supremacy of Macedonia and paying 120 talents.

Henceforth Greece remained quiet till B.C. 324, when Alexander himself sent a proclamation ordering all exiles to be restored to their homes. By this means he hoped to strengthen the Macedonian party; but the measure called forth endless disputes about the property of the returning exiles. In addition to this, *Harpalos*, the king's treasurer, had secretly left Asia with large sums of money which were spent in attempts to incite Greece against

Macedonia. At Athens many were ready to avail themselves of the opportunity; but when Antipater demanded the surrender of Harpalos, he fled into Krete, where he was murdered by a man, who, seizing the money, escaped into Kyrene. The Athenians, frightened by the threats of Antipater, instituted proceedings against those who had received money from Harpalos. Demosthenes, one of them, being unable to pay the fine imposed upon him, fled to Trœzen, but soon afterwards he was recalled from his exile.

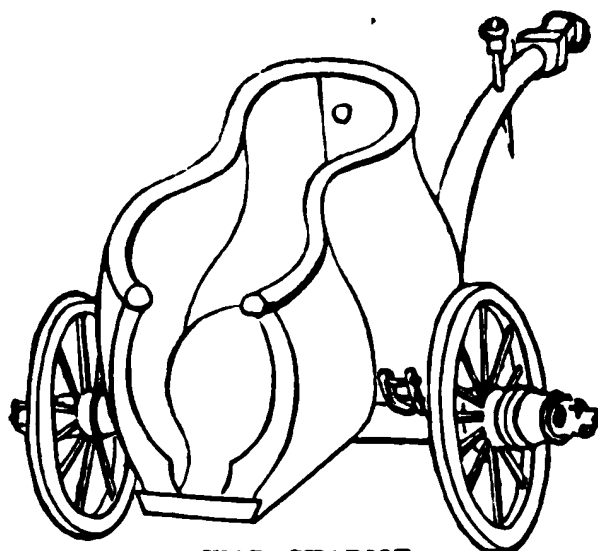
When at last the news of Alexander's death reached Athens, the people, disregarding the advice of moderate and experienced men, who urged the necessity of keeping quiet, rushed into open war, and called upon all the Greeks to assert their independence. A large army was raised, to which the Ætolians furnished a numerous contingent, and *Leosthenes* was appointed commander of the allied forces. He marched through Bœotia and took possession of the pass of Thermopylæ. At the same time the Illyrians and Thracians had risen against Macedonia, so that Antipater was placed between two fires. He first marched quickly into Thessaly, but as his Thessalian cavalry went over to Leosthenes, he threw himself into the town of *Lamia*, and made proposals of peace. The Athenians, flushed with victory, demanded the unconditional surrender of the regent. The demand was refused, and affairs soon took a different turn, for Leosthenes died of a wound, and the Ætolians returned home. About the same time the Macedonian general Leonnatos arrived with a large force from Asia in Thessaly. Antipater, the successor of Leosthenes, was obliged to raise the siege of Lamia and to fight a pitched battle against Leonnatos. Antipater, being now free, and joined by another army from Asia under the command of Krateros, fought a fierce battle near *Krannon*, B.C. 322, in which the Athenian army was twice defeated. All Thessaly surrendered at once, and the allies dispersed, each state concluding a separate peace for itself. The Athenians and Ætolians alone remained in arms.

Antipater now advanced southward, demanding of the Athenians to surrender the leading enemies of Macedonia. *Demosthenes*, *Hyperides*, and others, took to flight. The entreaties of the Athenians were of no avail; they had to pay the expenses of the war, and to receive a Macedonian garrison in the port of Munychia. At the same time the government of Athens was handed over to the wealthy, who had always been favourable to Macedonia, and only 9000 citizens retained the franchise. The fugitive patriots were sentenced to death. Demosthenes, who had taken refuge in the temple of Poseidon at Kalaureia, finding that he was dogged by the agents of Antipater, put an end to his life by poison which he had been carrying about with him for some time.

Thus ended the war against Macedonia, commonly called the Lamian War, in which Athens lost her freedom and her democratic constitution. The Macedonians now prepared to turn their arms against Ætolia, but the events which were occurring in Asia prevented this undertaking.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.



WAR CHARIOT.

CHAPTER XII.

GREECE UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER UNTIL THE TIME OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.

HENCEFORTH the history of Greece is inseparably interwoven with that of Macedonia, of which, in fact, it was at times only a sort of province. When Alexander died, there was no one to succeed him, for he left behind him only a weak-minded brother and two infant sons. For a short time *Perdikkas* exercised the highest authority as regent of the whole empire. But he was murdered in B.C. 321, and the generals of Alexander claimed the sovereignty of those portions of the empire of which they had been appointed governors, and *Antigonos* even claimed the sovereignty of the whole, while *Antipater* and his son *Kassander* kept Macedonia and Greece in their hands. The wives and children of Alexander and his brother were kept in a sort of splendid captivity at Pella, and in the course of a few years all of them were murdered. The history of Alexander's family is perhaps the most tragic in all ancient history. After a great deal of fighting among the generals, there arose a great and protracted war against Antigonos, until at length, in B.C. 311, the vast empire was divided among the competitors. But the peace did not last long; a fresh war broke out, and five of the generals assumed the title of king. Matters, however, still remained unsettled in consequence of the pretensions of Antigonos. But he was killed in a great

battle fought at *Ipsos*, in B.C. 301, whereupon a peace was concluded in which Macedonia, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt were recognised as independent kingdoms.

During these struggles among the generals of Alexander, Greece had of course to bear its share in them. At Athens there was a strong Macedonian party in favour of *Kassander*, the son of Antipater. It was headed by *Phokion*, and wished to retain the Macedonian garrison at Munychia. The democratic party, on the other hand, favoured *Polysperchon*, whom Antipater had appointed his successor, because he promised to restore to the Athenians their democratic government, and to allow the exiles to return. The democratic party gained the upper hand, and Phokion, being charged with treason, was put to death, in B.C. 317. A war then arose between Kassander and Polysperchon, during which nearly the whole of Peloponnesus was conquered by the latter. The Athenians, however, concluded peace with Kassander, in which their political independence was recognised and the franchise extended. But at the same time Kassander appointed the popular orator *Demetrios of Phaleron* governor of Athens, whose administration lasted from B.C. 318 to B.C. 307. At first he was extremely popular, and Athens recovered much of her former prosperity; he is even said to have been honoured by the citizens with 360 statues, but his subsequent extravagances made him an object of general detestation. During that period Greece was always the bone of contention among the Macedonian candidates for power, and almost all of them were anxious to secure the goodwill of the Greeks by promises to restore their independence. But such promises were worth very little, as no one had sufficient power to realise them. Kassander was at last forced by Ptolemy, then governor of Egypt, to quit Greece and return to Macedonia. In the peace of B.C. 311 the independence of Greece was indeed guaranteed, but a few years later Kassander and Ptolemy agreed that each of them should remain in possession of those parts of Greece which he had conquered.

In the last year of Demetrios of Phaleron's administra-

tion, when his unpopularity had reached the highest point, another *Demetrios* surnamed *Poliorketes*, the son of Antigonos, appeared with a large fleet off Peiræus, proclaiming himself the champion of liberty. He was most enthusiastically welcomed, and the Phalerean was allowed to depart unmolested. Demetrios kept his promise and caused large quantities of grain to be distributed among the poor, and the people in their gratitude paid him and his father almost divine honours. Being, however, of a restless disposition, Demetrios soon after quitted Athens, and hurried from one enterprise to another.

When Athens was thus left to herself, the old feuds between the democratic and Macedonian parties immediately recommenced. The former was headed by *Demochares*, a nephew of the great Demosthenes, a sincere and honest patriot, who did all he could to secure the liberty of the people; but it was all to no purpose, the Macedonian influence was too powerful. While Polysperchon was conquering Peloponnesus, Kassander invaded Attika and laid siege to Athens. The city was bravely defended by Demochares, and the sudden arrival of a fleet under Demetrios Poliorketes compelled Kassander to quit Greece. The towns thus freed from the Macedonian yoke showered all possible honours upon their deliverer, and appointed him commander of all their forces. He stayed at Athens only a short time, but greatly disappointed the people by his despotic and licentious doings and by exiling the noble Demochares. He was called away into Asia by his father, and when the latter had fallen in the battle of Ipsos, Demetrios returned to Greece, where he hoped to establish a kingdom for himself; but finding that his popularity was gone, he returned to Syria.

Meanwhile Leochares, with the support of Kassander, set himself up as tyrant at Athens, treating the people with unexampled cruelty. Demetrios, hearing of this, hastened to Athens, and took the city by storm, B.C. 295. He pardoned all previous offences, and distributed large quantities of corn among the famishing people; but, in

order to secure himself for the future, he placed strong garrisons in Munychia and Peiræus, and fortified the hill of the Museum within the city. He then marched into Peloponnesus, and appeared before the very gates of Sparta, when he was suddenly called to Macedonia, where he ascended the throne in B.C. 294. He reigned for a period of seven years, during which all Greece paid homage to him; but in a war against Pyrrhus, being deserted by his troops, he fled into Syria, where he ended his restless career as a prisoner. When Pyrrhus became king of Macedonia, the Athenians again rose in arms to assert their freedom, and the Macedonian garrisons were driven from their strongholds. Pyrrhus, instead of punishing them, generously allowed them the enjoyment of their freedom; and *Demochares*, being recalled, managed the affairs of the state in so able a manner, that for a time the Athenians might fancy that the happy days of old were returning. Lysimachos, the successor of Pyrrhus, also concluded friendship with Athens, and allowed her the full enjoyment of her democratic constitution.

About the year B.C. 280, swarms of *Kelts* or *Gauls* invaded Greece from the north. In Macedonia their progress was checked, though not until King Ptolemy Keraunos had lost his life in a battle against them. They then marched south towards Delphi, attracted, no doubt, by reports of the wealth of its temple; but when they approached Delphi, in B.C. 279, the god himself is said, by thunder and lightning, to have terrified the invaders, as he had done two centuries before, when the Persians approached the sacred city. Upon this, the Gauls dispersed, and a large body of them crossed over into Asia Minor, where, after roaming about for a long time, they settled in the country called after them Galatia.

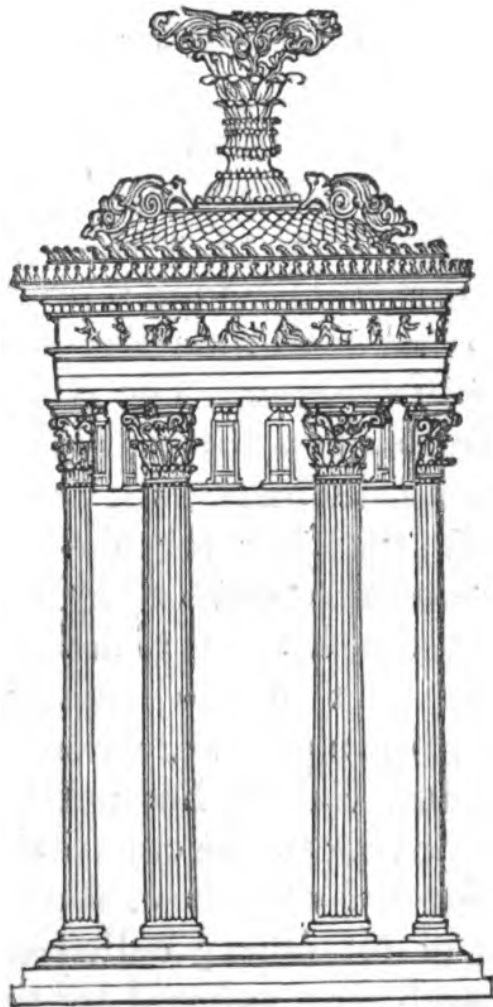
Antigonos Gonatas, who succeeded Ptolemy Keraunos (from B.C. 280, to B.C. 239), also claimed the sovereignty of Greece, but had to establish his claim by force of arms, and even thus succeeded only partially. In B.C. 269, he had to wage war against the Athenians, because they refused to admit a Macedonian garrison. The city was

besieged for several years, and though it was supported by Sparta and the King of Egypt, it was compelled to surrender in B.C. 262, and to receive garrisons in Munychia, Peiræus, and the Museum. But the conqueror treated the Athenians with great indulgence, for he did not interfere with their democratic constitution, and soon after even withdrew the garrison from the Museum. Athens thus enjoyed a long period of peace, though she had the mortification of seeing her port towns occupied by Macedonian troops. In B.C. 229, *Aratos*, then the head of the Achæan league, of which we shall have to speak hereafter, prevailed upon the Macedonian commander, by a bribe, to evacuate the port towns. He had hoped by this means to induce the Athenians to join the league, but they were too much weakened to join in its warlike undertakings, and henceforth withdrew from taking an active part in the affairs of Greece.

Throughout the Macedonian period, *Sparta* had shown considerable firmness in resisting the demands of the Macedonian rulers, but she had done little or nothing for the freedom of the rest of Greece, and we have seen that in B.C. 294 she narrowly escaped being conquered by *Demetrios*. The city was then surrounded by walls, which alone shows that the ancient spirit of its citizens no longer existed. The state was in fact in a wretched condition, all its wealth being accumulated in the hands of a few families, while the great mass of the people were miserably poor. The ephors had become the highest power in the state, and the kings were little more than the representatives of two ancient families.

In these circumstances King *Agis* (from B.C. 244 to B.C. 241) undertook the dangerous task of reforming the constitution and bringing it into harmony with the spirit of the times. Supported by the younger generation of Spartans, he carried several laws to relieve the poor. A fresh division of the land was made, and 4500 lots were set apart for the Spartans, and 15,000 for the Lakonians, and the small number of Spartans was to be increased by the admission of Lakonians to the franchise. These and

other measures the king thought might revive the spirit of the ancient Spartans. *Leonidas*, the other king, who opposed the reforms, was sent into exile, and all seemed to promise well. But during the absence of *Agis* on an expedition against the Achæans, the party opposed to reforms recalled *Leonidas*, and when *Agis* returned home, he was seized and put to death. His widow, *Agiatis*, as enthusiastic a reformer as her husband had been, afterwards married King *Kleomenes* (from B.C. 236 to B.C. 220), who tried by violence to complete the work begun by *Agis*. He had the ephors murdered, cancelled all debts, and was beginning the distribution of the land, when a war with the Achæan league broke out, the result of which, as we shall see, was the downfall of both *Kleomenes* and of *Sparta*.



MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES.



MACEDONIAN COIN.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE DOWN TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS.

THE Greeks never formed one politically united state; once only, in the war against Troy, they are said to have been united under one commander. But during the Macedonian period, it had been urged more than once by patriotic men that union alone could be of avail against Macedonian aggression. The idea at last took a practical shape among the Achæans, who had until then played a very subordinate part in the history of Greece. The Achæan towns, twelve in number, had from early times formed a loose kind of confederation among themselves; but in B.C. 280, they drew more closely together for the express purpose of driving the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus. Other towns soon joined the league, which kept on spreading over a considerable part of the country, until it reached its greatest power in B.C. 251, when *Aratos* of Sikyon became the chief, and caused his native city to join the confederacy. According to the constitution of the league, all the members formed one state, the executive of which was in the hands of an officer called *strategos*, who was elected annually and was assisted by two others, the one styled *hipparchos* and the other secretary. The seat of the government was at *Ægion*, where deputies of the confederate towns annually assembled as a sort of parlia-

ment. For a considerable time this league enjoyed the regard and esteem, not only of Greece, but even of foreign powers.

Unfortunately, however, the league not only failed in uniting all Greece, but an opposition league was formed by the *Ætolians*, who were not so much interested in the freedom of Greece, as in securing advantages for themselves. The *Ætolians* were indeed a brave and warlike people, but had not kept pace with the civilisation of the rest of Greece; they were from first to last rude, quarrelsome, faithless, and fond of plunder. The constitution of their league resembled that of the *Achæans*, and its power rose very rapidly. The seat of its government was at *Thermon*.

Aratos, who was twelve times elected strategos, was the very soul of the *Achæan* league, even when he was not in office, and the object he steadily kept in view was to unite all *Peloponnesus* under the democratic constitution of the league, and to drive away the tyrants who about that time existed in many towns under the protection of *Macedonia*. He was in many ways very successful by his eloquence and statesmanship, but he was somewhat deficient in resolution and personal courage. In B.C. 243, he drove the *Macedonian* garrison from *Korinth*, and induced its inhabitants and those of *Megara* to join the league. About B.C. 226, when he was strategos for the eleventh time, several important towns of *Peloponnesus* were gained over; but *Athens*, which, as we have seen, he delivered from its *Macedonian* garrisons, was not able to join the league.

During this period of its prosperity, the *Ætolians* evinced a hostile spirit towards the *Achæan* league, and even concluded a treaty with the *Macedonian* *Antigonos Gonatas* about a division of *Achaia*. About the same time King *Kleomenes* of *Sparta* by his reforms not only strengthened *Sparta* internally, but increased its power by subduing *Argos* and *Mantineia*; he strove, in short, to recover the ancient supremacy over the whole of *Peloponnesus*. A conflict with *Aratos* and the *Achæan*

league was thus unavoidable. Aratos declared war against Sparta, and in his eagerness forgot the objects of the league so far as to invite the aid of Macedonia against Sparta. Antigonos Doson, who was then regent of Macedonia, readily promised his assistance. In the beginning of the war Kleomenes was very successful, and defeated the Achæans in three battles. Many towns fell into his hands, and he began to lay siege to Akrokorinthos, the citadel of Korinth. At the same time he was willing to come to an understanding with Aratos, who, however, was foolish enough to deliver up that citadel to Antigonos Doson. Kleomenes made a most gallant resistance, but had to return to Sparta on account of his wife's death. In B.C. 223, Antigonos advanced into Arkadia, and gained possession of several towns, without Kleomenes being able to prevent it. The year following he invaded Lakonia with a large army. Kleomenes had pitched his camp at *Sellasia*, north of Sparta, where a great and decisive battle was fought, in B.C. 221, in which Philopœmen decided the victory of the Achæans. Kleomenes escaped with only a few horsemen to Sparta, and thence to Alexandria in Egypt, where he hoped to find protection, but found himself a prisoner, and in B.C. 220 put an end to his life. His mother and children, who had followed him in his exile, were put to death. Sparta, which had hitherto been governed by its hereditary kings ever since the Dorian conquest, now fell into the hands of Antigonos without resistance, but he treated it with moderation out of regard for its ancient glory. With Kleomenes the line of its ancient kings became extinct, and Antigonos could not stay sufficiently long to regulate the affairs of Sparta, as the Illyrians were making inroads into Macedonia.

The battle of Sellasia, though won by the Achæans, was no less fatal to them than to Sparta, for the great fortress of Korinth remained in the hands of the Macedonians, who were now governed by Philip V. (from B.C. 220 to B.C. 179), a man of great military abilities. At the very beginning of his reign, Greece was distracted by

what is called the *Social War*, which arose in the following manner. Sparta had fallen so low that a man of the name of *Lykurgos* was able to buy the royal dignity of the ephors. He at once got rid of the surviving members of the royal families, declared himself sole king, and then formed an alliance with the *Ætolians* against the *Achæans* and *Macedonia*. The war resulting from this lasted three years, during which Greeks were once more arrayed against Greeks, while the *Macedonians* traversed and ravaged Greece from one end to the other. The *Macedonian* king, however, found it necessary to leave the *Achæans* to fight their own battles, for his attention was attracted by the *Romans*, who had already gained a footing in some places on the east coast of the *Adriatic*. *Aratos*, dissatisfied with *Philip's* conduct, remonstrated with him, but the only result was that a few years later he was poisoned by the king's orders.

In B.C. 216, when *Hannibal* had defeated the *Romans* in four battles, *Philip* concluded a treaty with him, promising him succour, and stipulating that in the event of the *Romans* being finally defeated, the countries east of the *Adriatic* should be left to *Macedonia*. The *Romans* on hearing this, took every precaution to prevent a *Macedonian* descent upon *Italy*; and as they could not undertake a war against *Philip* so long as *Hannibal* was in *Italy*, they concluded an alliance with the *Ætolians*, B.C. 211, in which many other Greeks also joined, while *Philip* strengthened himself by alliances with other Greeks and with *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*. Here again unfortunately Greeks fought against Greeks for the benefit of the *Romans* and *Macedonians*. The *Ætolians* were urged on by the *Romans* to continue their hostilities against *Philip*; but as the *Romans*, in B.C. 206, ceased to support them, they were compelled to conclude a peace with *Philip* on his own terms, B.C. 205. The year after *Philip* also made peace with the *Romans*, who, however, retained possession of a part of *Illyricum*. Thus ended the first active interference of the *Romans* in the affairs of Greece.

Ever since the battle of Sellasia, the Achæans had become more and more weary of war, and were beginning to be indifferent. But their strategos, *Philopœmen*, an able general and statesman, revived their spirits. His first operations were directed against Sparta, where, after the death of Lykurgos, *Machanidas* had set himself up as tyrant, B.C. 211, and indulged in hostilities against the Achæans. *Philopœmen*, in B.C. 207, defeated him in a great battle near Mantinea. After *Machanidas*, *Nabis*, a monster of cruelty, usurped the tyrannis, and made the city pass through all the horrors for which the tyrants of that period are notorious in Greek history.

The peace between Philip and the Romans, according to which neither ought to have attacked the allies of the other, was broken by Philip in more ways than one. It happened that at Athens two Akarnanian youths, who were believed to have profaned some religious mysteries, were murdered by the excited populace. The Akarnanians, supported by Philip, made ravaging inroads into Attika. Hereupon the Athenians, allied with King Attalos of Pergamos and with the Rhodians, declared war against Philip, who straightway proceeded to blockade Athens with his fleet. The Athenians, assisted by a Roman fleet, repelled him, in revenge for which he laid waste the country as far as he could. In B.C. 200, the Romans, formally undertaking the protection of Attika, sent out the consul *Sulpicius Galba* with a force against Macedonia, and thus commenced the second Macedonian war. The belligerents had the same allies as before, but during the first year nothing of any importance was accomplished. In B.C. 198, *Quinctius Flaminius*, however, succeeded in gaining the Achæans over to his side, and being thus supported by them, as well as by the Ætolians, he advanced into Thessaly. As negotiations led to no satisfactory results, a great battle was fought, in B.C. 197, at a place called *Kynoskephalæ*, in which Philip was totally defeated, mainly owing to the valour displayed by the Ætolians. Peace was then concluded on condition that

Philip should withdraw his garrisons from all the Greek cities; and that the three great fortresses of Greece, Demetrias, Akrokorinthos, and Chalkis should be occupied by the Romans. The Athenians received back the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Skyros; but strange to say, Ægina was given to King Attalos. The Ætolians, to whom the victory of Kynoskephalæ was mainly due, being dissatisfied with these arrangements, openly declared that all the fair promises of Flamininus regarding the liberation of Greece were mere words, so long as the Romans themselves kept garrisons in the most important fortresses—the three fetters of Greece.

In the year after the great battle, B.C. 196, Flamininus, during the celebration of the Isthmian games and before the assembled Greeks, proclaimed the freedom and independence of their country. This proclamation was received with the most enthusiastic joy and delight by the people, who did not perceive that they had only made a change of masters. After this, Flamininus remained in Greece for some time, as Hannibal was stirring up King Antiochos of Syria against Rome, and the tyrant Nabis refused to evacuate Argos. But Flamininus compelled him not only to leave Argos, but to accept a peace on very severe terms, though his tyrannis of Sparta was left untouched. Of this both the Achæans and Ætolians complained. In order to satisfy the Greeks, the Romans, in B.C. 194, evacuated the three fortresses. But Nabis, anxious to recover certain maritime towns ceded to the Achæans, commenced war against them. The Achæans being commanded by *Philopœmen*, blockaded Sparta, and the Ætolians, pretending to assist Nabis, murdered him and took possession of the citadel; but the Spartans rose against their treacherous allies and massacred nearly the whole of them. Amid this confusion, Philopœmen made himself master, not only of the city, but of the whole of Lakonia, and added both to the Achæan league, which now embraced the whole of Peloponnesus.

Ever since the battle of Kynoskephalæ, the Ætolians were bitterly exasperated against the Romans, and they

now invited *Antiochos* of Syria to come to Greece, the conquest of which they represented to him as a matter of no great difficulty. In B.C. 192, the king arrived, and was at once joined by many Greek towns, but he did not bring with him a sufficient force, nor did he carry on the work with much energy; and in B.C. 191 he was defeated at Thermopylæ by the consul *Acilius Glabrio*, whereupon he returned to Asia. Another victory was soon gained over the *Ætolians*. A truce of six months was then concluded with them, at the expiration of which they resumed hostilities; but in B.C. 189 they were forced to accept a peace in which they were obliged to recognise the supremacy of Rome, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them, to dismiss all non-*Ætolian* towns from their league, and to pay the expenses of the war. Their confederation was thus broken up and limited to the towns in *Ætolia* itself.

After *Philopœmen* had made himself master of Sparta, the city remained quiet for a few years; but in B.C. 188 a dispute arose between him and the Spartans. Both parties applied to the Roman Senate to decide between them; but as its answer was ambiguous, *Philopœmen* took justice into his own hands: he restored those who had been exiled by *Nabis*, put to death the leaders of the party hostile to the Achæans, and even went so far as to compel the Spartans to adopt a democratic form of government. The Spartans, unable to resist these revolutionary proceedings, had to submit to them with deep but suppressed indignation. In B.C. 183 the Messenians revolted from the Achæans, and *Philopœmen* had to march against them. On his way he was attacked and overpowered by some Messenian horsemen, who triumphantly carried him in a dying state to Messene. The people there condemned him to death, which he bore with a calmness and intrepidity worthy of his whole life. He was succeeded by *Lykortas*, the father of the historian *Polybios*, who recovered Messenia and put to death those who had taken the lead in condemning *Philopœmen*.

But peace and order were not restored by these violent measures, and the time was fast approaching when the mighty hand of Rome was to silence the petty disputes among the Greeks by depriving all their states of the power of action. For a time Philip of Macedonia quietly submitted to the peace imposed upon him by the Romans ; but finding his position too humiliating, he at last began to make preparations for another war. But quarrels in his own family prevented his taking any decisive steps. By the treachery of his son Perseus, he was induced to put his only other son, Demetrios, to death, and when he discovered how he had been deceived, he was seized with the deepest remorse, and died in B.C. 179. *Perseus*, who now succeeded him, hated the Romans even more than his father had done ; he continued the warlike preparations, and strengthened himself by numerous alliances. Amid these occupations the first seven years of his reign passed away, for the war did not break out until B.C. 171. During the first three years nothing of importance was effected, but a general feeling began to develop among the Greeks that they ought to support Macedonia rather than Rome. Perseus's foreign allies, however, fell away one after another, as he could not make up his mind to part with his treasures. At last, in B.C. 168, he was defeated in a great and decisive battle near *Pydna* by the Roman general *Æmilius Paullus*. Perseus took to flight, carrying his treasures with him, but was overtaken and sent to Rome as a prisoner.

During this war the Achæans, though reluctantly, had fought on the side of the Romans, but after the war a great many were denounced as having either openly or secretly favoured the cause of Macedonia. In consequence of this, upwards of 1000 Achæans, and among them the historian Polybios, were arrested and sent to Rome, where they were distributed among various towns of Italy, and kept as hostages. For seventeen years they remained in this condition, and when in B.C. 151 they were allowed to return to their own country, their number was reduced by deaths to 300. The Ætolians, who

had incurred the same suspicion, were treated with much more severity, for upwards of 500 of the most distinguished among them were put to death, and large numbers were sold into slavery.

These were severe blows, but worse were yet to come. It would appear that the Athenians at this time were reduced to such a state of poverty that they had recourse to plundering *Oropos*, a town in their own territory. A complaint was made to the Roman Senate, and commissioners were appointed to inquire into the matter. The Athenians, refusing to appear before them, were sentenced to pay a fine of 500 talents. Being unable to raise that sum, they addressed a petition to the Senate to mitigate the verdict, and the fine was actually reduced to 100 talents. A short time later the Athenians repeated the outrage upon *Oropos*, which now applied for redress to the Achæans, and a stern decree of the latter sufficed to protect *Oropos* against similar outrages.

Meanwhile a pretender had arisen in Macedonia, who, calling himself Philip and a son of Perseus, claimed the throne. The Macedonians, detesting the Roman yoke, readily believed his story, and flocked around his standard. In the ensuing war the pretender at first gained some advantages, but in B.C. 148, Cæcilius Metellus defeated and afterwards carried him to Rome in triumph. During this war the Greeks indulged in petty but impotent acts of hostility towards the Romans. Metellus, who, like many other great Romans, liked the Greeks and felt interested in them, advised them to keep quiet, and promised that their grievances should be looked into by Roman commissioners. When these latter arrived at Corinth, the assembled Achæans received them in the most insolent and unbecoming manner. An embassy sent by Metellus himself fared no better, and the Achæans, goaded on by their desperate and reckless leaders, foolishly declared war against Rome. Metellus, after having settled the affairs of Macedonia and reduced Thessaly, marched with his army into Boeotia, B.C. 147. *Kritolaos*, the Achæan strategos, had intended to check

the progress of the Romans at Thermopylæ; but he came too late, and after being twice defeated, he fled and was never heard of again.

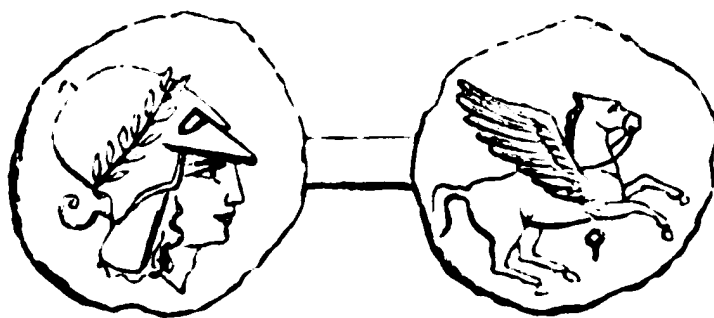
The Achæans now began to see their folly, for while Metellus entered Bœotia, a Roman fleet landed a force in Peloponnesus and ravaged the country. *Diæos*, now strategos of the Achæans and a most implacable enemy of the Romans, assembled the remaining forces of the Achæans and a large body of armed slaves in the neighbourhood of Korinth. Metellus, after destroying the city of Thebes, advanced towards Megara, and once more tried to persuade the Greeks to lay down their arms; but all offers were rejected by the infatuated *Diæos*. During these negotiations, the period of Metellus's command came to an end, and he was succeeded by *L. Mummius*, a rude soldier, who had no sympathy with the Greeks. He occupied the isthmus with a large army; and at a place called *Leukopetra*, near Korinth, he fought a battle, in B.C. 146, which decided the fate of Greece for ever. When *Diæos* found that all was lost, he fled with a small body of his followers to Megalopolis, his native place, where he killed his wife, and then took poison and set his house on fire, in order that nothing belonging to him might fall into the hands of the Romans.

Three days after the battle, Mummius entered Korinth, which he ordered to be sacked and destroyed by fire: all the male inhabitants were massacred, and the rest sold as slaves. The Achæan and all other confederations in Greece were dissolved, and the territory of Korinth became Roman domain land. The whole of Peloponnesus was so fearfully ravaged by the Roman soldiery that the country was almost changed into a wilderness. Many of the severe measures adopted at first were afterwards relaxed, and many of the Greek cities, even under the dominion of Rome, continued to enjoy a kind of municipal freedom. Whether Greece was at once constituted as a Roman province under the name of Achaia, is uncertain; its political life, however, was extinguished, and whatever advantages it still continued to enjoy, it owed

to its pre-eminence in the arts and in literature, which continued to flourish for centuries longer, and made Athens in particular a centre of attraction to young men from all parts of the world who wished to secure that high mental culture which was not to be obtained anywhere else.



PERSIAN KING.



COIN OF KORINTH.

APPENDIX

GIVING A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM B.C. 146 TO THE ACCESSION OF
KING GEORGE, 1862.

AFTER the capture of Korinth, Greece for the first time became entirely subject to a foreign power, and its history henceforth is that of a two thousand years' agony under foreign dominion.

For more than 450 years, from B.C. 146 to A.D. 324, the Romans exercised their supremacy over Greece, and were succeeded by the Byzantine emperors, from A.D. 324 to 1453. The latter were not indeed a foreign power, for the eastern empire was essentially Greek, but still entirely different from the genuine ancient Hellenism, and while it lasted, the country of the Greeks was constantly invaded by barbarians from the north, the east, and the south, and several parts of it fell into their hands. Lastly, during upwards of 400 years (from 1453 to 1821) the Greeks were under the cruel and brutal

tyranny of the Turks, who still rule over the greater part of the country.

During these 2000 years, the Greeks never quietly acknowledged the right of foreigners to rule over them, but were nearly always in a state of insurrection against their oppressors. Although deprived of their national independence, they always managed in their towns and cities to preserve a kind of local self-government, and though oppressed by the overwhelming power of their conquerors, their innate genius, their language, and their literature always exercised a certain intellectual and moral supremacy even over their oppressors. This strength of their national life and their intelligence have in the end procured their freedom and independence.

CHAPTER I.

GREECE UNDER THE ROMANS (B.C. 146 TO A.D. 324).

It has already been stated that at first the Greeks continued to enjoy a kind of municipal freedom, for every important town continued to be governed by one of its own citizens, and the best of the Romans were ready to do homage to the genius of their conquered subjects, and were proud of being familiar with their language and literature; by their education they were Hellenised, they spoke and wrote Greek, and regarded Greece as their intellectual mother. Even emperors were proud of being citizens of Athens. But unfortunately this very superiority of the Greeks over their conquerors also excited the envy and hatred of the Roman people, and the name *Græculus*, at first a friendly and flattering appellation, afterwards became an expression of contempt.

The natural position of Greece often made it the battlefield in the wars of the Romans, both against other

nations and among themselves. This circumstance kept the Greeks in constant readiness to seize any opportunity of recovering their freedom, but threw the country into ever-increasing misfortunes. Thus about the beginning of the first century B.C., *Mithradates*, king of Pontus, after having driven the Romans from Asia Minor, proceeded to make war on them even in Europe, for which he sought and obtained the alliance of the Greeks. He sent numerous armies into Greece, where they were joined by Lakedæmonians, Achæans, Thebans, and more especially by the patriotic Athenians. Mithradates was at first successful, and for a short time Greece enjoyed its ancient freedom. The Romans, roused by the threatening danger, in B.C. 87, sent *L. Cornelius Sulla* to Greece, who succeeded in reducing most of the revolted towns. Peiræus was closely blockaded; the Athenians alone held out, but were compelled by famine in the year following to surrender. The rage of the conqueror was terrible: Peiræus was entirely destroyed, and the city of Athens was the scene of an indiscriminate massacre. Thousands of citizens were butchered, and as many more sold into slavery. Thebes and other towns experienced the same fate. The richest and most beautiful temples at Delphi, Olympia, and Epidauros were plundered, and their costly treasures in gold and silver were converted into money. The most beautiful and valuable works of art were conveyed to Rome, and many were lost in the sea during the transport.

Not very long after this destructive war, Pompey and Julius Cæsar, the two most eminent Roman generals of the time, contending for the sovereignty, became involved in a civil war which divided the whole empire into two hostile parties. The Greeks, ever hoping to recover their freedom, took part in the terrible contest which raged and was decided in Greece. The Athenians, Bœotians, and Peloponnesians sided with Pompey, while the Akarnanians, Ætolians, and a portion of the Epirots supported Cæsar, who ultimately defeated his rival in the great battle of Pharsalos in Thessaly, B.C. 48. All

Greece had now to submit to him, but he treated the people with more clemency than Sulla had done; the Megarians alone were severely dealt with. The Athenians, whose ancient glory he respected and admired, were honoured with presents; and Korinth, which ever since its destruction by Mummius had been in ruins, was rebuilt in B.C. 46.

Two years later, after Cæsar was murdered at Rome, a new civil war broke out in Greece between *Antony* and *Octavianus* on the one hand, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* on the other. The Athenians again rose in arms and joined the latter, while the Lakedæmonians united their forces with the former. Antony and Octavianus utterly defeated their opponents in B.C. 42 in the great battles of Philippi, and then divided the Roman empire between themselves. Greece fell into the hands of Antony, who having himself been educated in Greece, treated the Athenians with considerable generosity, and often took up his abode in their illustrious city, imitating their manners and customs and proud of being called a Philhellene and Philathenæos (a friend of the Greeks and a friend of the Athenians).

But the peace did not last long, and another civil war broke out between Antony and Octavianus, which again was carried on in the country of the Greeks, most of whom supported Antony. The latter was completely overpowered by his rival, in B.C. 31, in the battle of Aktion. Octavianus, or, as he was afterwards called, Augustus, treated the Greeks with kindness; he ordered the town of Patræ to be rebuilt, and on the spot where he had gained his great victory he built, in commemoration of it, the town of Nikopolis (city of victory). Patræ and Athens soon became the most populous and richest cities of Greece. The peace which the Roman empire enjoyed under Augustus and his successors, also exercised its beneficial influence upon Greece, and many of its towns, especially Athens, retained their ancient self-government. Some of the first emperors, however, such as Caligula and Nero, carried away many of the art treasures of

Greece ; while others, such as Trajan and especially Hadrian, neglected no opportunity of showing their affection and respect to the enslaved Greeks. Hadrian often resided in his beloved Athens, embellished it with public buildings, and was even proud of the title of Archon Eponymos of Athens.

But notwithstanding all this, the condition of Greece became worse from year to year ; the many and bloody wars had depopulated the country ; the insecurity of property destroyed its commerce and industry, and the rapacity of the Romans reduced the wealthiest towns to poverty. The corrupting influence of the coarser manners of the Romans and of their gladiatorial games also exercised a demoralising influence upon the people, and depraved their taste in art and literature.

While the country was in this sad condition, it was threatened by a terrible danger from the north. The *Goths*, who occupied part of modern Russia and Northern Germany, commenced their invasions of the Roman empire, destroying everywhere whatever came in their way, and in the year 253 threatened to overrun Greece. The Greeks, as in the days of Xerxes, occupied the pass of Thermopylæ, the Athenians rebuilt their walls, and the Peloponnesians fortified the Korinthian isthmus. By this means and the fact that the Goths were defeated by the Romans in Thrace, Greece was saved on that occasion ; but in 267 the Goths invaded Greece by sea and destroyed Korinth, Argos, and many other towns both on the mainland and in the islands. The Athenians, after a most heroic resistance, were overpowered ; their fair city was plundered, destroyed, and deluged with blood. After destroying the monuments, the barbarians also intended to burn the manuscripts in the libraries, when one of them saved them by contemptuously exclaiming, “ Leave the Greeks their books, for while they are occupied with them, they will neglect the use of arms, and be conquered all the more easily.” While the Goths after their victory were giving themselves up to barbarous revelries, the historian Dexippos, the bold general of the

Athenians, assembled the remaining forces, took the barbarians by surprise and utterly defeated them. Those who escaped into Illyricum were almost annihilated by the Emperor Gallienus. Two years later, the Goths in still greater numbers, attacked Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece proper, with 2000 ships, but were everywhere repulsed by the Emperor Claudius and the Greeks. Since that time, Greece for two centuries was free from barbarian invasions, but suffered much during the continual disturbances within the Roman empire, which was becoming weaker and weaker.

The most important event which took place in Greece, and through it exercised its influence over the whole of the civilised world, was the spread of Christianity. About the middle of the first century after Christ, the apostle *Paul* had preached Christianity in Macedonia, especially at Thessalonike, and converted many Greeks. Being persecuted, he went to Athens, where he preached the Gospel, though apparently without much success. Thence he proceeded to Korinth, where he was more successful, and whence Christianity rapidly spread over many parts of Greece. At that time the Greek language was spoken and understood by nearly all the nations round the Mediterranean: Egypt and a great portion of Asia had been Hellenised through the victories of Alexander the Great. This general diffusion of the Greek language was the great external means by which the new religion was easily made known throughout the ancient world.

The Roman empire was decaying more and more, and its downfall was fast approaching; but there still existed on the other hand the elements of a better state of things, consisting in the vigorous and manly intellect of the Greeks, and in the irresistible strength of Christianity. This appears to have been perceived by the Emperor Constantine, commonly called the Great (306-337), who founded the Byzantine empire and publicly recognised and established Christianity in his dominions.

CHAPTER II.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, FROM 330 TO 1453.

Constantine's mother, Helena, seems to have sown the seeds of Christianity into the heart of her son, for he was born and brought up as a pagan. He became emperor in 306, and being involved in a war with Maxentius, is said before the battle to have seen a luminous cross in the sky with the inscription—"With this conquer." He regarded this sign as an indication of his future greatness, and from that time he favoured the Christians. Henceforth he devised a new standard for his armies called the *labarum*, with the monogram of the name of Christ, and this *labarum* has ever since remained the symbol of the Greek nation. Under him Christianity became the religion of the empire; Christian churches were richly endowed and protected, and Sunday was set apart as a day specially devoted to worship. The lower classes of the population, which had sunk into terrible misery through the long wars and revolutions, were taken care of by his wisdom and firmness, and order and justice were maintained by him with a firm hand.

His far-seeing wisdom is perhaps nowhere more striking than in his selection of a site for his eastern capital. He seems to have been convinced that the western part of the empire could not endure much longer, and therefore transferred the seat of power into the eastern or Greek part of his dominions. In the year 330 he built on the site of the ancient Byzantium the capital of the Eastern empire, called after himself *Constantinopolis*. Its situation is one of the most splendid in the whole world, and most favourable for commerce as well as for war. Many of the treasures of art and monuments of religion were transferred from the ancient to the *new Rome*, and the city was embellished with palaces and splendid public buildings, while extensive walls and towers were built for its defence. Eminent men from

all parts of the empire were invited to settle at Constantinople, and a numerous population was attracted by privileges and other advantages. Though by birth a Roman, he was a Greek at heart, honoured and protected several towns of Greece, and was proud of being called General of the Athenians.

The Greek empire and Christianity were thus established about the same time, and in 364 the Eastern empire was finally separated from that of the West.

Julian (361-363), one of the successors of Constantine, a man of great genius, a brave warrior, and a wise politician, had deeply studied the philosophy and literature of the ancient Greeks, and in his enthusiasm for them formed the strange determination to revive the religion of Olympus and to eradicate Christianity, though he did not persecute the Christians. This extraordinary scheme, though perverse and utterly impracticable, nevertheless exercised a beneficial influence on the Greeks: their cities and their philosophical schools, especially that of Athens, enjoyed a brief period of revival; but his designs were frustrated, as his successors returned to Christianity.

About the end of the fourth century, the Goths under their king *Alaric* renewed their inroads into Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. They forced the pass of Thermopylæ, and for a whole year ravaged Bœotia, Attika, Korinth, and the whole of Peloponnesus. Athens alone was saved by the payment of a large sum of money. Being at last driven out of Peloponnesus, they marched back through the west of Greece and Epirus into the western parts of Europe, where they assisted in putting an end to the Latin empire, 476. The Eastern or Byzantine empire, which more and more developed its Greek character, maintained its independence for nearly a thousand years longer. But the inroads of the barbarians did not cease, and especially the *Vandals*, after having taken possession of a large portion of Northern Africa, infested the coasts of Greece as pirates, but were each time successfully repelled by the imperial troops.

The great Emperor *Justinian* (527-555), through his able generals *Belisarius* and *Narses*, conquered the Vandals and Gothic tribes which had made themselves masters of Italy and North Africa, and reunited both countries with his large empire. He ordered the most eminent lawyers to compile a great code of laws (*Corpus Juris Civilis*), partly written in Latin and partly in Greek, which has become the basis of the laws of nearly all European nations. In his reign silkworms are said to have been introduced into Europe from China. Trade and commerce were very flourishing under him. The magnificent church of Holy Wisdom (*Saint Sophia*) at Constantinople, was built in his reign; 10,000 men are said to have been engaged upon it for six years.

As *Justinian* had conquered the Vandals and Goths, so *Heraklios* (610-641) repelled in victorious battles the Persians, who had founded a new Persian empire in the third century after Christ, and continually plundered the Greek cities in Asia Minor, and even threatened Constantinople itself.

About the beginning of the eighth century the empire was threatened by a new danger from Asia. The Arabs, inspired by the new religion of *Mahomed*, attempted to effect its general diffusion among the nations of the earth by force of arms. They invaded the Greek provinces of Asia Minor, and even blockaded Constantinople. But the emperor, *Leo*, the Isaurian (717-741), by his bravery and skill, overpowered them, and burned the fleet by what is called the "Greek fire." The same *Leo* attempted to forbid the worship of images in the churches, an example which was followed by several of his successors (who are hence called *iconoclasts*, or breakers of images), and for a whole century caused fearful disturbances in the empire. While the empire was secured on the side of Asia, it was still open to inroads of the *Bulgarians* and *Slavonians*. The former, a warlike nation, of Turkish origin, ravaged the northern parts of the empire, and conquered the northern districts of Thrace, where they settled, and gave to the country the name of Bulgaria.

The *Slavonians* and *Wallachians*, tribes of a more peaceful disposition, settled in Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and the rest of Greece, adopted Christianity, and by degrees also the Greek language, so that they peacefully amalgamated with the Greeks; but some of them have continued to live isolated, as shepherds, down to the present day, and their name has become synonymous with shepherds.

For more than five centuries the Byzantine emperors were of Roman descent: Byzantium was the new Rome, and the empire was called the Roman. The language of the government, especially at first, was generally Latin; but the irresistible influence of the Greek language and of the Church, in the course of time imperceptibly Hellenised even the emperors of Roman origin and the whole government.

In the year 867, *Basilios*, the Macedonian, was the first in a succession of genuine Greek emperors, who continued to occupy the throne until the downfall of the empire. Under them the last remnants of the Roman element entirely disappeared. *Basilios* and his successors, *Nikephoros Phokas* (963-969), *Joannes Zimisce*s (969-976), and *Basilios II.* (976-1025), were great both as warriors and as statesmen. They repelled the Arabs in the East and in the South, and also took from them the island of Krete; while in the North and West they defeated and subdued the Bulgarians. About that time the *Russians*, an equally barbarous people, under their king, *Igor* (941), advanced upon Constantinople, with 10,000 boats, but were entirely defeated by *Phokas*, and their fleet destroyed by the Greek fire. In the year 955 the Russian queen *Olga* went to Constantinople, and was there converted to Christianity, and baptized under the name of *Helena*. *Vladimir*, 980, the most famous of the old Russian kings, also requested to be baptized by Greek priests. He received the name of *Basilios*, and married *Anna*, the sister of *Basilios*, who was then emperor. *Anna*, on going to Russia, was accompanied by a number of Greek scholars and artisans, to

whom Russia owes the first elements of Christianity and of civilisation.

During three centuries the empire was powerful, tranquil, and prosperous; and commerce and navigation flourished. Literature and science were so much cultivated among the Greeks that they not unjustly looked upon the western nations as barbarians. Theology and pulpit eloquence, which, even during previous centuries, under such men as Joannes Chrysostomos, Basilios, and Gregorios, had risen to a height never surpassed, were studied and cultivated with great zeal. Public morality, though low and depraved, as is always the case under despotic governments, was still far better than it had been in Rome under the emperors. To this period also belongs the eventful separation (schism) of the Greek from the Roman Church. The pretensions of *Pope Nicolaus* were vigorously and successfully repelled by the patriarch *Photios* (858-891), the greatest scholar of his age, who exposed the unchristian character of the Papacy, both in its dogmas and in its conduct. Since then the Papacy has displayed an implacable hatred of everything Greek, and the nations of the West were urged to make war upon the Byzantine empire, the riches of which furnished an additional incitement.

As early as the year 1080, *Robert Guiscard*, prince of lower Italy, invaded Epirus and Thessaly, but Alexis Komnenos repelled him. In the year 1146, Robert II., king of Sicily, took possession of the island of Kerkyra, which, however, was soon recovered by the Greeks, and attacked and ravaged Korinth and other Greek cities. At last, in the year 1204, the *Venetians*, accompanied by several French princes and a powerful fleet, assailed and took Constantinople. The city was plundered, and, inflamed by fanaticism, the conquerors slaughtered several thousand men. They proclaimed one of themselves emperor, and distributed the portions of the empire which they had conquered among several independent chiefs. Only three large Greek provinces remained unconquered and under Greek rulers—viz., in Asia Minor,

Nikæa and *Trapezus*, and *Epirus* in Europe. The principality of *Nikæa*, owing to the valour and skill of its rulers, *Theodoros Laskaris* and *Joannes Dukas*, became the most important. But the power of the foreign conquerors did not last long, partly on account of the feuds and discord among the Frankish princes themselves, and partly on account of the great hostility between Greeks and Franks. At last, in the year 1261, *Alexis Strategopulos*, general of *Michael Palæologos*, prince of *Nikæa*, having discovered a subterraneous passage leading into Constantinople, entered the city by night with 800 men, and became master of it; and *Michael Palæologos* soon after entered the city with great pomp. Thus the Venetian empire of Constantinople came to an end, after an existence of half a century; but the greater part of *Peloponnesus*, of continental Greece, and of the islands, remained for centuries in the hands of the Venetians.

Scarcely had the empire been partially freed from the western conquerors when it was threatened by a more serious danger from the east. The *Turks*, after having conquered several Greek provinces in Asia, appeared, under their leader, *Ourkhan*, on the Hellespont, and conquered *Kallipolis*. His son, *Murat* (1359-1389), made himself master of *Philippopolis*, *Adrianopolis*, and a great part of *Thrace*, *Adrianopolis* becoming the residence of the Turkish sultans. His successors continued irresistibly to extend their conquests. Meanwhile (1440), *Constantine Palæologos*, brother of the Emperor of Byzantium, and prince of that part of *Peloponnesus* still belonging to the empire, succeeded in driving the Venetians, not only from the peninsula, but from *Attika* and the whole of northern Greece. But the Venetians now applied for assistance to the *Turks*, who, united with the *Franks*, in the neighbourhood of *Korinth* (1446) conquered *Constantine*, who thereupon withdrew to his possessions in *Peloponnesus*. The *Turks*, fired by religious fanaticism, and in their wild valour, were invincible. One man only was a match for them—that was *Georgios Kastriotes*, commonly called *Skanderbeg*, prince of

Albania, in northern Epirus, one of the grandest heroes in history. During five-and-twenty years he fought successfully against the numerous hosts, and his name was the terror of the Turks, while it inspired the Greeks with hope. It was only after his death that Albania was conquered, and the greater part of the Albanians was forced to adopt the religion of Islam.

Constantinople was thus gradually surrounded on all sides by Turkish conquests. Peloponnesus and part of continental Greece were the only portions of the great empire that were not subdued, when, in the year 1453, in the month of April, Sultan Mahomed II., a wild but able warrior, approached Constantinople with an army of 300,000 men, and 400 ships. The chivalrous Emperor Constantine Palæologos assembled the feeble remains of his forces, and with them resolved to resist the enemy even unto death. It was in vain that he had implored the assistance of the Pope and the Western princes. The former promised help, but only on condition of the Greeks acknowledging his supremacy, and reuniting with the Roman Catholic Church. But the Emperor and all the people of Constantinople exclaimed, "The Turkish turban is a thousand times better than the Papal tiara." There was now no other hope, and they resolved to die honourably. For seven weeks the Turks continued their furious assaults upon the city, but were each time repulsed by the brave determination of the Greeks. The barbarians began to despair. Mahomed, maddened with anger and shame, then put himself at the head of his forces, declared that the lives and property of the conquered should belong to the soldiers, but the land and the stones to himself. By this means he inspired his men with fresh courage, who were at the same time goaded on from behind by their officers with lashes and sticks. At last, on the 29th of May, the Turks succeeded in scaling the walls of the city, and Constantine, addressing the survivors of his subjects, said, "As it is not God's will that we should save our country by our blood, let us at least leave to our descendants an example of virtue and valour, that they

may preserve their faith and nationality." For three days the Turks continued the butchery of the people and the devastation of their homes. The streets were covered with blood and corpses, and nothing was heard but the shrieks and lamentations of the victims, and the shouting and laughing of the barbarians. The sultan himself set the example of cruelty as he had done that of bravery; for he ordered the body of Constantine, who had been slain by the enemy, together with his faithful followers, to be searched for among the corpses, trampled his head under his feet, cut it off, and sent it as a trophy into Asia. All the surviving members of the imperial family and all the notables of the empire were butchered before his eyes, while he was enjoying himself at a banquet; and a fair maiden, of the name of Irene, was beheaded by himself, before the eyes of his soldiers. On the third day he ordered the slaughtering to be stopped, and to carry the rich booty to the ships. The fleet was filled with treasures of every kind, and thousands of men and women were carried into Asia to be sold as slaves. Thousands of manuscripts of ancient Greek authors were destroyed, or were sold for a mere trifle. The Greeks who had been able to escape took refuge in some Greek islands and in Italy. Among the latter there were many famous Greek scholars, who introduced a knowledge of the Greek language and literature into Italy, and thus paved the way for the revival of letters in the West, and for the Protestant Reformation, which was the result of it. The most illustrious among these exiled Greeks were Constantine and John Laskaris, Theodore Gazis, Bessarion, Chalkokondylas, Kallergis, and Mussuros.

CHAPTER III.

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS, FROM 1453 TO 1821.

AFTER having satisfied the rapacity of his soldiers, Mahomed proceeded to organise his conquest. All Greeks were declared slaves, who had no right to possess anything, and their very lives were at the mercy of the conquerors. Every Greek, therefore, from his tenth year, had to pay an annual tribute (*haratzsch*), which was to prove that he had purchased his life of the sultan for one year. All the land was declared to be the property of the ruler, and was given partly to Turkish dignitaries, or set apart for the religious purposes of the Turks. All possessions, even the smallest, left to the Greeks were regarded as a gracious gift of the sultan, which however might be taken away at any time. The oppressive tribute, which was constantly and arbitrarily increased, rendered every kind of industry and commerce almost impossible, and when a man acquired wealth, it was at the risk of his life, for he was at once suspected of endeavouring to raise himself above the condition of slavery. But the most fearful tribute the Christians had to pay was this: One-fifth of all Christian boys were annually forced away from their families and educated in the religion of Islam, and out of them was formed the corps of *Janissaries*, who by their savage valour became the terror of the Christians themselves. Many Greek mothers, in order to free their sons from this terrible fate, killed them with their own hands, and then put an end to their own lives. Under such a government, mental culture, commerce, and industry were impossible. Among all the misfortunes which the Greek nation had to endure ever since the conquest of Korinth, this was the most terrible, and the nation would have perished had it not been for the stupidity of its savage tyrants, and the noble patriotism of its priests. The Turks, stupid, ignorant, and indolent, could not and would not take the trouble to govern their

Christian slaves. They found it most convenient and comfortable to have to deal with a single individual, representing the whole Greek nation, whom they held responsible, and whom they might on the slightest suspicion put to death. This person was the *Patriarch*, who after the fall of the empire remained the highest dignitary of the Greek nation. Fortunately there lived at the time a priest of the name of *Georgios Gennadios*, one of the greatest scholars of his age, and a profound and energetic politician, to whom the eyes of all the Greeks were then directed, and who about that time was raised to the dignity of patriarch. Mahomed recognised him as the head of the Greek nation, and showed him personally great respect on account of his genius and eloquence, but at the same time held him responsible for the nation. Gennadios organised the patriarchate as both the political and ecclesiastical government of the Greeks. In every province the bishop, dependent on the patriarch, became the political as well as the ecclesiastical guide and teacher of the Greeks, and his duties consisted not only in regulating the affairs of the Church, but in governing his diocese also politically. He was the freely-acknowledged judge in all private affairs. He had to superintend the schools which preserved the language, as well as the churches which upheld the religion of the nation, and both together preserved the national character of the people. Thus it happened that in their disputes among themselves, the Greeks never appeared in Turkish courts of justice. As the bishop of a province was dependent on the patriarch, so the lower clergy in the villages were dependent on the bishop, and carried on the same patriotic business. In all their daily prayers the priests and bishops implored God to give them the victory over the barbarians. Another truly patriotic power, that of the *Primates* (Archontes), was united with and subject to this ecclesiastical hierarchy. These primates were freely elected by the people themselves to regulate all their civil affairs; they collected the different tributes, and handed them over to the Turkish authorities;

they protected the people against the arbitrary proceedings of the Turkish civil and military powers, partly by persuading and partly by bribing the pashas. They also regulated the revenues of every commune, and administered them with perfect freedom. They, like the priests, were recognised by the Turks as the representatives of the people, but, like the priests, they were also responsible for them. Thus the clergy and the primates preserved the nationality and self-government of the Greek nation even under the oppressive rule of the Turkish tyrants, and kept their people in absolute separation from the Turks. Hence no marriage ever took place between Turks and Greeks; no Greek adopted the religion of Mahomed, and no intercourse existed between the two nations. The only feeling between them was that of burning hatred. But priests and primates had often to seal their patriotic mission with their blood, for at every rising of the Greek people, and whenever a suspicion arose, they were the first victims, whether they were patriarchs of Constantinople, bishops, or the poorest priests and primates of a commune.

Independently of the clergy and the primates, the most important elements of the Greek nation under the Turkish dominion consisted of what were called the *Klephts*. This was the name of the warlike and invincible mountaineers of Epirus, Thessaly, Akarnania, Ætolia, Arkadia, and Maina (Lakonia). Those mountainous countries had always been inhabited by warlike tribes, and since the Turkish conquest, all men who loved their freedom and refused to recognise the Turkish dominion, had taken refuge there. From their mountains they carried on a perpetual war against the Turks, led an entirely free life, and kept up an uninterrupted rebellion against the enemies of their country and their faith. Protected by their mountains, they despised the attacks of the Turks, and sometimes they unexpectedly fell upon their enemies like flashes of lightning. They were always in commotion, and, being as cautious as they were bold, they became the terror of the Turks. Their whole

life and happiness was to carry on war; to die on a sick bed was regarded by them as the greatest misfortune and the greatest shame. The love of war was united with that of song and poetry, and every successful exploit against the Turks was immediately celebrated in song. These songs are among the most beautiful of popular poems, and are like an epic history of that uninterrupted armed protestation of the Greek mountaineers against Turkish tyranny, and through them all there runs a firm belief that a time will come when the nation shall be free again. The Greek nation after the Turkish conquest thus lived under these three protecting elements.

Let us now return to the conquerors. Mahomed was not satisfied with the conquest of Northern Greece; he also made himself master of the island of Eubœa and of Athens (where he changed the Parthenon into a mosque), and penetrated into Peloponnesus. Most of the cities and fortresses of Peloponnesus, as well as most of the islands, were then governed by the Venetians, who henceforth became involved in bloody wars with the Turks which lasted for nearly 300 years. These wars were disastrous for the Greeks, for their country was the perpetual scene of these protracted contests, and they always found themselves between two enemies, each of whom aimed at the enslaving of Greece and the destruction of its people.

In those times, therefore, the position of the Greeks was most deplorable, for when they sided with the Venetians the most terrible vengeance was wreaked upon them by the Turks (on one occasion all the inhabitants of a village in Peloponnesus were sawn through in the middle for this offence); and if they supported the Turks, which scarcely ever happened, the Venetians treated them with almost equal cruelty (in one case they carried off from a single town 2000 Greeks, whom they sold as slaves); and when they remained neutral, they were tortured by both. Still the Greeks could not remain indifferent, for they still cherished the hope of recovering their freedom by their arms. The Venetians seemed to them a lesser evil, partly because they were Christians,

and partly because the cunning Italians always held out to them the hope of freedom, if once the Turks were conquered. Their object, however, was to retain a firm hold on Greece, and to ruin its commerce and navy, in which they fully succeeded. The large silk manufactories of Athens and Korinth, which ever since the days of Justinian had been the first in Europe, were destroyed and transplanted to Venice and Genoa.

In the year 1522 the great *Suliman I.* became master of the island of Rhodos, though not without great efforts, for the Greeks, united with the Venetians and the Knights Templars, defended themselves most heroically. The survivors of the knights took refuge in Malta. Soon after the Turks conquered several islands, and laid siege to Kerkyra, but being repulsed by the inhabitants and the Venetians, they laid waste Zakynthos, Kephallenia, and other islands. Not long after he gained possession of the remaining Venetian fortresses in Peloponnesus, which induced the Venetians to solicit the friendship of the Turk.

His successor, *Selim*, took the large and beautiful island of Kyprus from the Venetians, after a furious contest which had lasted a whole year from 1570 to 1571. This war attracted the attention of all the western nations on account of the heroic resistance of the inhabitants and the mad cruelty of the barbarians. In the city of Leukosia 20,000 men were slaughtered, and 40,000 sold as slaves. The town of Phramagusta capitulated after a brave resistance of ten months, being solemnly promised that the lives of the inhabitants would be spared, and that they would be allowed to depart unmolested. But this promise was broken as usual, and when the gates were opened, the men were butchered and the rest of the population carried off as slaves. Soon after, however, the barbarians suffered a severe loss, for the whole Turkish fleet, consisting of 200 ships, was entirely destroyed off Naupaktos by the allied fleets of the Venetians, the Pope, and the Emperor, under the command of Don Juan of Austria. Nearly the whole of

the Venetian fleet on that occasion was manned by Greeks, who as usual fought with enthusiasm for Christianity and their own independence.

Kreta, the largest and most important island in the Greek seas, still owned the supremacy of the Venetians, and the struggle to retain possession of it lasted for thirty years; but the end of it was that the Venetians kept only a few fortresses in the island, and seeing the danger of losing all, they applied for help to all the Christian nations. France was almost the only power that sent out the flower of its nobility, and an army of 6000 men under the Dukes of Beaufort and Navarre. The Turks under Achmed Kyprisli, equally famous for his military ability, as for his diplomatic skill, in the end (1670) succeeded in wresting the whole island from the Venetians, whose dominion in Greece for a time came to an end. But a few years later, 1685, the Venetians, commanded by the celebrated *Morosini*, and assisted by the Greeks, recovered the whole of Peloponnesus, and the year after Athens also fell into their hands. It was on that occasion that a Venetian bomb destroyed the Parthenon, which had been used by the Turks as a powder magazine. After *Morosini*'s death, the Venetians lost their conquests one after another, and in 1699 they concluded a peace with the Turks, in which Peloponnesus alone was left to them. But in 1715, under Achmed III., the Turks also conquered that peninsula, and since then all the countries inhabited by Greeks have belonged to Turkey, with the exception of the Ionian Islands, which in 1797 became subject to France, afterwards to Russia, and in 1815 were placed under the protection of England.

But from that time the Turkish power became weaker and weaker, while they gave the reins to their rapacity, cruelty, and other vices. Even before that time they had ceased to force Christian children to embrace the religion of Islam, whereby they lost their best soldiers. The Greeks, on the other hand, although suffering every kind of insult and ignominy, gradually began to recover themselves. Their provincial self-government was gra-

dually more fully developed, and owing to the gross ignorance of the Turks they contrived, at the end of the seventeenth century, to insinuate themselves as grand dragomans or interpreters, doing all the business of the foreign office of the empire, and thus gained considerable influence in all the affairs of the state, and had many opportunities of secretly supporting and benefiting their unhappy countrymen. Under their protection schools were established in all parts of the country. The most distinguished among these patriotic men was Alexander Maurokordatos, eminent both for his learning and his skill as a politician. Soon after these Greeks of Constantinople obtained from the Turks the suzerainty of Moldavia and Wallachia. The first of them was Nicholas Maurokordatos, son of Alexander, and like his father, an eminent scholar and politician. The Greek princes, who governed these provinces until 1821, were the first to introduce civilisation into those semi-barbarous countries, and by their enlightened measures promoted the education and commerce of the Greeks, who were gradually rising in material prosperity under the watchful care of the Church, the primates, and the secret protection of the wealthy Greeks at Constantinople and elsewhere.

But this revival of the Greek nation was terribly interrupted in 1769. The Empress Catharine of Russia was then at war with the Turks, and the Greeks, ever watchful of an opportunity to recover their freedom, availed themselves of this war and rose in arms in Maina and throughout Peloponnesus. The Empress promised to send armies and fleets for their support, but only a few ships appeared, under the command of Orloff. The Turks called in the assistance of large numbers of wild Albanese, who everywhere raged with fire and sword. But in spite of the heroism of the Greeks and especially of the Mainots (the ancient Lakedæmonians), and of Andrutsos, a famous chief of the Klephts, the Turks suppressed the insurrection and desolated Peloponnesus by their ravages. The Russians abandoned their Greek allies and sailed to Asia Minor, where in 1770, under the brave

Scotch Admiral Elphinstone they burned the Turkish fleet near Tzesme. The Turks wreaked their vengeance on all parts of Greece, and murders were the order of the day. The Patriarch Meletios and many priests and primates at Constantinople were put to death with cruel tortures. The towns of Philippopolis, Larissa, Trikala, Smyrna, and others, were deluged in blood.

When in 1787, the war between Russia and Turkey broke out afresh, the Greeks again rose in arms, especially in the mountainous districts. The Greeks now for the first time formed a small navy under Lambros Katsonis, a native of Lavidia, who often attacked and captured Turkish vessels. At the same time the heroic people of the Suliots, in the north of Epiros, appeared for the first time on the scene of war, and the valour they displayed against Ali, pasha of Epiros, gained universal admiration. They maintained themselves, shut in as they were within their mountains, without provisions and without ammunition, and weakened by diseases and deaths, until the end with a valour unparalleled in history. Women and boys fought for their liberty as well as men. When the faithless Ali demanded the surrender of a mountain, threatening to kill the son of Tsavelas, chief of the Suliots, the father replied, "Faithless Ali, you may kill my son ; if it pleases God, my wife will give me other sons ; but another country I cannot have." When the Suliots were at length reduced to a hopeless condition, Ali promised them treasures and other homes, but they answered, "We despise thee and thy promises ; the smoke of the huts in our mountains is dearer to us than all thy treasures." At last in 1803, decimated by hardships, without ammunition, and even without water, they resolved to quit their mountains. Being attacked on their road by Ali, most of them were slain ; the survivors destroyed themselves, and mothers with their infants in their arms threw themselves down the precipices ; only a few reached the port town of Parga, which was then under English protection. But Ali, grudging them even this asylum, bought Parga from the English ; and the Suliots collecting from the graves

the very bones of their ancestors, proceeded to the Ionian Islands, where they finally settled.

The French revolution gave to the Greeks a fresh impulse: schools were established everywhere, and the most learned endeavoured to inspire them with a love of culture, virtue, and freedom. The most celebrated among them was Adamantios Koraes, who was the first to purify the Greek language and reduce it to fixed rules; he familiarised the Greeks with their ancient literature and endeavoured to kindle in them the desire to imitate the virtues of their great forefathers. Residing in Paris, he defended the much calumniated and despised Greek nation, he promoted a better acquaintance with it, and prophesied its restoration. Commerce and industry continued to flourish, and wealthy merchants freely gave their money to found schools, publish books, and provide for the wants of their country. At the same time the three little islands of Hydra, Psara, and Spetsa began to form the famous navy which afterwards in the war of liberation became the terror of the Turks and the hope of the Greeks. At first they only carried on commerce between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but in order to protect themselves against the pirates of Tunis and Barbary they changed their merchant vessels into ships of war. By this means they acquired great knowledge of maritime warfare, and amassed large treasures, especially during the Continental system of Napoleon.

All these national powers—the Church, scholars, Klephts, primates, sailors, and merchants—laboured thoughtfully and firmly to recover the freedom of their country. The man who first endeavoured to realise the idea of delivering the whole Greek nation from the yoke of the Turks, and to unite its several parts, which until then had struggled individually, was the Thessalian *Rigas Pheræos*. By his fiery war-songs he inspired the Greeks with a burning love for their country and for freedom; and in order to show them the whole extent of the lands inhabited by their fathers, he published an atlas

of all the Greek countries; and with the intention of bringing before them the achievements and virtues of their ancestors, he translated from the French the "Travels of Young Anacharsis;" and he even drew up a code of laws which were to be established among the Greeks and by which they and all the Christians of the East were to be governed after their liberation. He gave the first impulse to the subsequent formation of a "Society of Friends" (hetairia) which was to unite all those who were inspired with a love of freedom, and all those who by their position, their talent, and fortune, were able and willing to exert themselves for the common object. This society spread throughout the country, and nearly all Greeks became members of it. In 1797 Rigas went to Italy to come to an understanding with Bonaparte about his great plan; but at Trieste he was arrested by the Austrians and delivered up to the Turks, who ordered him to be beheaded at Belgrade. Before his death, he said, "The Greeks will soon avenge my death."

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF THE GREEK NATION, FROM 1821 TO 1862.

RIGAS' generous exertions and his martyrdom, the daily increasing enthusiasm for the freedom of Greece, which was stimulated by the schools and by the Church, the heroic deeds of the Klephts and Suliots, combined with the contempt of the cowardice of the Turks, and the hatred of their brutality, cruelty, and fanaticism, at last led to the great revolution which broke out in the year 1821. The whole Greek nation, old and young, and women as well as men, rose, as the war-song said, "for the holy faith in Christ and the freedom of their country."

The revolution broke out simultaneously in the far north, on the Danube, and in the mountains of Arkadia and Lakonia. In Wallachia, where, under the protection of the Greek princes, the Hetairia had been long and successfully active, and had organised the numerous Greeks residing in the country, the noble and brave *Alexander Ypsilantis*, the son of a former prince of Wallachia, proclaimed the insurrection of the Greek people. Young men from all parts of Greece assembled in the College of Bucharest, and, fired by the words and example of *Georgios Gennadios*, took up arms and formed themselves into a "sacred band," as the ancient Thebans had done under Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The Olympian *Georgios* (or *Georgakis*) assembled a number of brave warriors from Thessaly and Epiros. But the cowardice and treachery of the Wallachians, and *Ypsilantis*' want of military experience, enabled the Turks soon to stamp out the insurrection. All the noble and well-educated young men of the sacred band fell at Dragatzani. The brave *Georgios*, after several desperate contests, shut himself up with his followers in the monastery of Sekkon, and blew up the building together with himself and the invading Turks. The vengeance of the Turks was fearful. All the towns of Moldavia and Wallachia that were inhabited by Greeks were deluged in blood, and at Constantinople the fury of the Turks was frantic. Sultan Machmud II. resolved to exterminate the whole Greek nation, when he discovered a conspiracy of the Greeks at Constantinople, which had formed the plan to burn the harbour, kill the sultan, and take possession of the city. The massacre began with the patriarch Gregorios, who on Easter Sunday was hanged on the gate of his palace, and whose body was then dragged through the streets and thrown into the sea. All the patriarchs and bishops, and all the primates, with thousands of other citizens, were murdered, and their properties confiscated, while thousands of others were sent as slaves into Asia: it was, in fact, a renewal of the terrible scenes enacted at the taking of Constantinople. Adrianople, Thessalonike,

Smyrna, Kyprus, and other places, had to witness equal horrors.

In Greece proper, however, the insurrection was more successful. The most influential Peloponnesians, on the 6th of April 1821, assembled in the monastery of Sancta Laura, in Arkadia, and took a solemn oath that they would die for their country. There was *Petros Mauro-michalis*, the aged chief of Maina, who was joined by his brothers, children, and grandchildren, all equally renowned for their valour and patriotism ; there was the most famous warrior of Peloponnesus, *Theodoros Kolokotronis*, the Odysseus of modern Greece, inexhaustible in stratagems, and undaunted in danger, a man who, by his brilliant, popular, and humorous eloquence, inspired the Peloponnesians no less than by his heroic valour ; there also were the wise primates, *Zaimis*, *Lontos*, and *Delijiannis*, and the Archbishop *Germanos*, who consecrated the blue banner. Two numerous Turkish armies, consisting for the most part of Albanese, entered Peloponnesus against the insurgents. One of them, consisting of 6000 men, attacked and surrounded a body of 1000 Greeks, commanded by Kiriakulis and Johannes Mauromichalis. For two days and two nights the Greeks defended themselves manfully, when Kolokotronis arrived with his Arkadians, and at Valtetsi completely defeated the Turks, whose survivors took refuge at Tripolis. At the same time, a body of 4000 Turks burst into the eastern parts of Greece to crush the insurrection there. Seven hundred Greeks occupied Thermopylæ to stop their progress. They were commanded by the Bishop of Amphissa, and by young *Diakos*, formerly a priest, who was the most popular among the leaders on account of his beauty no less than on account of his bravery and poetical character. After a most valiant resistance, the bishop was killed, and Diakos, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner by the Turks and cruelly murdered (5th of May). It was a bright sunny day, and when Diakos was taken to the place of execution, he exclaimed, "Lo, what a beautiful day Charon has chosen to fetch me, when the flowers

are blooming, and the earth has put on her green garment."

The Turks ravaged Phokis, Bœotia, and Attika, but in their rear *Odysseus*, a chief famous for his energy and bravery, again rallied the scattered Greeks. Five thousand Turks advanced against him. *Odysseus*, joined by *Guras*, occupied Thermopylæ with 1000 men, and completely overpowered the enemy in a bloody engagement.

At last, on the 5th and 6th of September, when the whole of continental Greece rose in arms, a large fleet proceeded from Constantinople against the islands. The Greek fleet, consisting of ships chiefly furnished by Hydra, Spetsa, and Psara, sailed out to meet the enemy. Hydra was governed by a patriotic aristocracy; the character of its inhabitants resembled that of the ancient Spartans, whom they equalled in their pride, simplicity, and indomitable bravery. Having acquired great wealth by their commerce, their honesty, and skill, they now sacrificed all their treasures, all their ships, and in the end even their lives, upon the altar of their country. During the whole of the war of liberation, the leader of the Hydriots was *Lazaros Kunturiotis*, who distinguished himself by his good sense, his virtue, and determination, and devoted his whole fortune to his country. The Greek fleet met the far more numerous one of the Turks in the neighbourhood of the island of Lesbos, and on the 8th of June burned a Turkish frigate with 600 men on board, whereupon the Turkish fleet, in great terror, fled back to Constantinople.

After these victories, the Greeks undertook to settle their future government. A national assembly meeting at Epidauros drew up a constitution, declaring before God and man that the Greek people, after having endured a fearful martyrdom, had determined by every sacrifice to secure its independence, and to take its place among the Christian and civilised nations which were indebted to their forefathers for civilisation and Christianity.

The next year Turkey made the greatest exertions to crush the insurrection. Forty thousand men, selected

from all parts of the empire, and commanded by Dram Ali, penetrated into Peloponnesus to relieve the fortress of Nauplia, which was besieged by the Greeks. The position of the latter was dangerous. Mauromichalis and *Demetrios Ypsilantis* (the brave and excellent brother of Alexander) occupied the akropolis of Argos and the Mylæ (Mills), in order to give Kolokotronis time to assemble his Peloponnesians. The latter soon arrived with 10,000 men. The Turks, not venturing to penetrate farther into Peloponnesus, soon discovered that from want of provisions and of water, they could not remain any longer in the plain of Argos, and therefore resolved to retreat towards Korinth. But Niketas and Ypsilantis, having occupied the mountain passes, fell upon the Turks and annihilated nearly the whole of their army; the remainder escaped to Korinth. That glorious victory, which reminds us of that of Plataæ, was due to the military skill of Kolokotronis, and to the valour of Niketas, who from that time bore the surname of "the devourer of the Turks" (*Tourkophagos*), but who, withal, was a man of child-like gentleness.

At the time when the army had set out from Constantinople, the united fleets of Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary sailed from Constantinople against the Greek islands, and in the month of April they arrived at the beautiful, rich, but unwarlike island of Chios. The Turks threw themselves upon the unhappy islanders like wolves upon a flock of sheep. For many days the island was the scene of an indiscriminate massacre, of violence, and burning. Thousands of men and women were sent to the markets of Egypt and Asia to be sold as slaves. When the news of these terrible proceedings became known, the Hydriots, together with the Spetsiots and Psariots, got their fleets ready with the greatest haste. The admiral in command was the Hydriot, *Andreas Miaulis*, the greatest naval commander of Greece, an iron man who never smiled and never wept, whose superiority was acknowledged by all, and who, after his victories, retired as a simple citizen into the bosom of his family. By his experience and

boldness he kept in check the gigantic fleet of Turkey. On the night of the 6th of June, a young Psariot hero, *Konstantinos Kanaris*, sailed out in a small barge with thirty-three men, and setting fire to a large Turkish frigate, blew it up, with all on board. More than 2000 Turks with their admiral thus perished in the waters of the island of Chios, which they had saturated with the blood of innocent men and women. The terror of the Turks was so great that they fled before the small Greek fleet, and although reinforced by a fresh Egyptian armament to relieve Nauplia, they sailed past that fortress from fear of the Greek fleet. Nauplia, thus abandoned, fell into the hands of the Greeks (12th December). The Turkish fleet, on its arrival at Tenedos, was overtaken by a violent storm, and having lost, through a device of the Greeks, one frigate, with 1600 men, the whole armada hastened back to Constantinople.

Meanwhile the Suliots, who, after the loss of their country, had settled in the Ionian islands, had returned to their mountains as early as the year 1820, and now renewed their hostility against the Turks, whose attacks on their mountain fastnesses they always successfully repelled. In the year 1822, *Alexander Maurokordatos* was governor-general of the southern part of continental Greece. He was as distinguished for his statesmanship as for enlightened patriotism; and perceiving the importance of Messolonghi, he established himself there, and gave to Akarnania and Ætolia a military organisation. Maurokordatos, with about 2500 men, proceeded northward to support the Suliots, but in Epiros the Greeks were surrounded by a body of Turks four times more numerous than themselves, and after an obstinate fight and great losses, were compelled to retreat. Many Philhellenes, and among them the German general, Normann, fell. Kyriakulis Mauromichalis, who, with a body of men from Maina and Arkadia, had advanced into Epiros, likewise lost his life after a brave but unsuccessful fight. Thus all the Turkish forces were directed against the Suliots, who, after a brave resistance, finding themselves

without ammunition and provisions, were compelled again to leave their mountains, and to seek a new home in Kephallonia, whence soon afterwards they proceeded to Messolonghi. All the Turkish forces were now directed against that place. But Maurokordatos and its inhabitants were resolved to die or to conquer, for they well knew that the place was the greatest stronghold of Peloponnesus. There were scarcely 350 men in the town, and their only means of defence consisted of fourteen old pieces of artillery; the walls were weak and old, and the Turkish fleet was blockading the place. Maurokordatos, in order to gain time, deceived the Turks by feigned negotiations, until Hydriot ships arrived and forced the Turks to give up the blockade; at the same time help came from Akarnania, Ætolia, and other parts. When the Turks, on the 6th of January 1823, attempted to storm the place, they were gloriously beaten back, and in their flight sustained great losses, as they were pursued by the Greeks.

In the year 1823, the sultan sent a formidable army of Albanese, with orders to take Messolonghi, the key to Peloponnesus. The little town, in spite of the heroism of its inhabitants, would scarcely have been able to defend itself, had it not been for the presence of *Markos Bozzaris*, the most glorious hero of the Greek Revolution, and the descendant of an ancient Suliote family. At the head of 1200 Suliots, who had come from Kephallonia, he formed the bold resolution to attack the advancing barbarians. Accompanied by 350 men, forming the centre of his little army, he assailed the Turkish camp during the night, and drove the terrified enemies from their fortified position. Bozzaris, though severely wounded, continued to fight until a bullet struck him in the forehead. The struggle, however, continued. When the morning dawned, the Suliots, overwhelmed with grief at the death of their beloved leader, left the field of battle, carrying with them the body of the hero. The victory was dearly bought; and the death of Bozzaris spread sorrow and consternation

throughout Greece. Six months later, on the 19th of April 1824, another piece of sad news filled all Greece with pain and sorrow, for the illustrious poet, *Lord Byron*, who, like many other enthusiasts for the emancipation of Greece, had gone to assist that country in its struggles for freedom. He had formed, at his own expense, a corps of Suliots, with whom he was resolved to fight for the liberation of Greece, when death overtook him. This calamity filled the minds of all the Greeks with even greater sorrow than any of the many misfortunes that had previously befallen them.

Meanwhile a body of 15,000 Turks appeared before Messolonghi, and attacked the island of Anatolikon, but the valour of the besieged, their sallies, the approach of winter, and the terror with which the fame of Bozzaris had filled them, obliged the Turks to retreat.

After so many and fruitless efforts to put down the Greek rebellion, the sultan applied for assistance to *Mehemet*, the pasha of Egypt. The latter, who had raised himself from the position of a common soldier to the governorship of Egypt, was a man of great ability, and had formed large land and naval forces, officered chiefly by Europeans, who had been attracted by his treasures, and had trained his armies. In order to insure his co-operation in the subjugation of Greece, the sultan gave him the island of Krete, which from the beginning of the revolution had supported the cause of freedom, until about the end of the year 1823 it was reduced to submission by Mehemet, whose son *Ibrahim* was now appointed governor-general of Peloponnesus, with orders to reconquer the peninsula for Turkey. A large Egyptian fleet (July 1824) then attacked the little island of Kasos, whose brave inhabitants had boldly and vigorously supported the Kretans; and after a brief but desperate resistance the Kasians were partly massacred and partly sent as slaves into Egypt. Meanwhile a Turkish fleet of 200 sail appeared before the little island of Psara, the boldness of whose inhabitants had specially roused the anger of the sultan. The Psariots had fortified their

island, and had received a thousand auxiliaries from Macedonia. Relying too much upon these advantages, instead of preventing the Turks from effecting a landing, they resolved to fight the enemy on land, and though they displayed their usual heroism, they were obliged to yield to superior numbers. Some of them, together with 600 Macedonians, fortified themselves in the monastery of St Nikolaos. After a desperate fight of two days, scarcely one-third of their number survived, and even these were nearly all wounded. Then they formed one of those bold resolutions which we so often hear of in this war. They ceased firing, and allowed the Turks to enter the monastery; and when the building was filled with enemies, the whole structure was blown up, amid hurrahs for freedom and fatherland. All the Greeks perished, but with them 4000 Turks. The rage of the enemy was fearful: thousands of men were captured, and sent to the slave markets, and many mothers with their children threw themselves into the sea, in order not to fall into the hands of the Turks. A few thousands of the survivors sought and found refuge in caves and mountains. The Greek fleet had not been able to prevent these unfortunate occurrences, because the inhabitants of Hydra and Spezza, who had generously equipped the ships out of their own means, had come to the end of their resources. But the misfortune of Psara roused them to fresh efforts: they got ready a fleet under *Georgios Sachturis*, next to Miaulis, the greatest admiral. The Turkish fleet was then making preparations for attacking the island of Samos. Another fleet was for the same purpose stationed near the Asiatic coast. The Greek fleet, reinforced by the surviving Psariots and Kanaris, sailed against them; and near Mount Mykale the Greeks fought three naval battles, in which, though inferior in numbers, they repeatedly defeated the Turks. Several of the enemy's ships were burned, with their crews. The large Turkish army encamped upon the Asiatic coast, terrified by these repeated defeats, withdrew to Halikarnassos, intending to join the great Egyptian fleet. Miaulis, united with

Sachturis, sailed against them, and with his small fleet was determined to keep in check the enormous forces of the enemy. Three times he defeated them, burned several of their ships, compelled them to retreat to Mitylene, and continued to harass them till nearly the end of the year, when the Turkish fleet fled to the Hellespont and the coast of Asia Minor. The aged hero Miaulis, crowned with glory, and as modest as ever, withdrew in silence to his home. The military operations of the Turks in continental Greece were equally unsuccessful during this year.

In the next year (1825), however, Ibrahim Pasha at length succeeded in throwing himself into Peloponnesus at the head of an excellent and numerous army, which was commanded by European officers. He laid siege to Pylos, and in order to facilitate his operations, attacked the little island of Sphakteria. Fifty-two Egyptian ships forced their entrance into the harbour, which was occupied by only eight Greek ships, commanded by the brave Hydriot Tsamados. On the 8th of May the Egyptians threw a numerous body of their forces into the island, while their ships of the line were ready to defend themselves against Miaulis, who was prevented by contrary winds from attacking them. Nearly all the men who formed the Greek garrison of the island were killed. Sachturis and Maurokordatos made their escape, and seven of the eight Greek ships, supported by favourable wind, forced their way through the enemy's fleet. The other ship, "*Athena*," remained to save its captain, Tsamados; but when the men learned that he was dead, they, led on by Sachturis, determined to force their way through the whole of the Egyptian fleet stationed at the entrance of the harbour. The brave crew was determined either to save themselves or to blow up the ship; but by skilful and quick manœuvres the "*Athena*," after a fight of six hours, succeeded in breaking through the opposing lines. A few days later, Miaulis avenged the fall of Sphakteria, by burning twenty Egyptian ships in the port of Methone.

Meanwhile the Turkish fleet returned from the Hellespont, to attack Messolonghi. Sachturis sailed out, and met it between the islands of Eubœa and Andros, and completely defeated it, taking all their transports. The Turkish fleet then dispersed. But in Peloponnesus Ibrahim was successful with his numerous army: he took Pylos, and ravaged Messenia with fire and sword; and while this was going on, the Messenian, *Dikaïos*, resolved to revive the courage of the Peloponnesians. He selected 600 men, who were ready to die, and gave notice to the government at Nauplia of his resolution, telling his countrymen that they could save their country only by their readiness at any time to sacrifice their lives for it. He fortified himself with his small band at Maniaki, in Arkadia, and there awaited the arrival of the whole Egyptian army. After a heroic fight, which lasted a whole day, he and all his companions fell, as the 300 Spartans and Leonidas had fallen at Thermopylæ. Ibrahim continued the conquest of the country, amidst slaughter and devastation, and sent his prisoners into Egypt. Suddenly he advanced into the plain of Argos, intending to take possession of the Mills near Lerna, which contained all the provisions of the Greeks. But at this moment Ypsilantis, with 227 brave followers, fortified himself there, resolved at all hazards to maintain that important place. His daring audacity was successful; the Egyptians were repelled with great loss, and Ibrahim returned to Tripolis. The aged Kolokotronis, the only man capable of protecting Peloponnesus against the enemy, assembled 10,000 men, the largest force that had until then been collected, and marched towards Tripolis to attack Ibrahim. The two armies met in July, near Trikorpha. The fiery but inconsiderate impetuosity of a Greek corps, which, contrary to the orders of the commander, pursued the Egyptians too far, threw the Greek ranks into disorder, spreading gradually throughout the Greek army, which, in spite of the efforts of its leader, was completely defeated: 400 fell, 800 were taken prisoners, and afterwards either slaughtered or sold as

slaves. Ibrahim now again ravaged Messenia, Lakonia, and Arkadia, and sent all his prisoners as slaves into Egypt. Kolokotronis again rallied the remains of his army, but did not venture upon a decisive battle. He followed Ibrahim, repeatedly attacked him, and then retreated into the mountains.

The success of Ibrahim in Peloponnesus induced the sultan to venture upon a final attack on Messolonghi. This task was entrusted to *Reshid Mechmet Pasha*, the greatest general of the Turks, who, with an army of 20,000 men, undertook the siege of the fortress. After the last siege which that small fortress had sustained, the fortifications had been somewhat improved ; but its whole artillery consisted of forty iron guns, which were for the most part useless. Its best defence was its garrison, consisting of 5000 men, among whom were the bravest chiefs of Suli, Epiros, Thessaly, and Akarnania. All were under the supreme command of *Notis Bozzaris*, the uncle of Markos, who was then seventy years old. The besiegers were soon reinforced by a large Turkish fleet. The first two attacks of the Turks were gloriously repelled, and the Turkish fleet was put to flight by Miaulis and Sachturis. The city had already begun to suffer from famine, but provisions could now be introduced, and a few days later a body of 1000 men, sword in hand, sallied forth in the night, attacked the Turks, and after causing a fearful massacre among them, returned to the fortress with booty, standards, and prisoners.

During five months the Turks made incredible efforts to take Messolonghi by assault, and the Greeks made equal efforts to prevent it. Although suffering from famine and disease, they made the proud Reshid almost despair by their bold and well-managed sallies. At the beginning of the following year he was joined by Ibrahim, with 10,000 well-disciplined troops and a formidable body of artillery. Relying upon his superior force, Ibrahim called upon the parties to surrender (January 1826). The Messolonghites, though their position was hopeless, treated the demand with contempt. The whole country

round about was covered by the Turkish and Egyptian armies, and the sea was crowded by the enemy's fleet. Within the city famine and disease had already carried off 1500 of its defenders, and half of the fortress itself was already in ruins. At this critical moment, Miaulis arrived with his fleet, and on two successive days defeated the Turks. The blockade of Messolonghi was thus broken, and provisions for two months were introduced, whereupon Miaulis returned to Hydra to take further measures. Ibrahim and Reshid, after long preparations, now attempted to storm the place. After firing for two whole days, they gained, on the third, the possession of one fort, which, however, was retaken by the Greeks on the fourth. The two pashas endeavoured to continue the assault, but their troops were demoralised, and had literally to be forced to fight. The Turks, now despairing of the possibility of taking the town by assault, resolved to continue the bombardment. They took possession of three small islands in front of Messolonghi. A fourth, called Kleisova, was attacked by Reshid. Its garrison, which had fortified itself in a monastery, was commanded by *Kitsos Tsavelas* and 130 Suliots. Reshid, after a hot contest, was wounded and repelled. Ibrahim had no idea of the bravery displayed by the Greeks, and when Reshid was blamed for his defeat, he said to Ibrahim, "They are not men, they are devils; go and see yourself." But Ibrahim himself was soon obliged to retreat. Tsavelas then fell upon the Egyptians, and made such havoc among them that upwards of 1000 Turkish and Egyptian corpses for a long time floated in the shallow waters, and poisoned the atmosphere.

Meanwhile famine and diseases decimated the Messolonghites. Rations could no longer be given, and the destruction of houses within the town continued. Miaulis and his fleet were the only hope. The patriotic Hydriots, who for five years, with unexampled generosity, had maintained a fleet, had become impoverished, and the government at Nauplia had no money. Still a fresh fleet was formed, under the old admiral, though the ships were

very feebly manned, some of them having scarcely twenty men on board. Miaulis met the combined fleets of the enemy near Cape Araxos, and notwithstanding their immensely superior forces, he resolutely and boldly ventured upon a battle. The engagement remained without any decisive result, but the brave admiral incessantly harassed the enemy by small skirmishes, and endeavoured by every means, though in vain, to introduce provisions into Messolonghi. At last the desperate condition of the Messolonghites determined the iron admiral to risk everything, and to break through the blockading force, when the terrible news of the fall of Messolonghi broke his heart.

The sufferings of every kind had risen in the city to the highest point. For twenty days the chief articles of food had been seaweeds and the leather of their shoes, which, softened by a little oil, was regarded as a delicacy. Diseases raged, and no medical assistance was to be obtained. In the streets, covered with ruins, there were seen lying old and young, men and women, sick, famished, or dead. Notwithstanding all this, the people had to watch night and day to repel the enemy's attacks. Ibrahim, who knew the condition of the place, repeated his demand to surrender. But the heroic defenders contemptuously rejected every proposal. The leading men, however, saw that the defence must come to an end, as in three or four days the whole population would be carried off by famine. It was resolved, therefore, to make a sortie, and to save as much as possible. Out of 3000 men the bravest warriors were selected, who, on the night of the 22d of April, were to force a passage, sword in hand, through the whole hostile army. This daring plan might have succeeded had it not been betrayed by a Bulgarian to Ibrahim, who immediately took measures to prevent the escape of that daring band. When the moment arrived, the Greeks best able to fight took the lead, being followed by all the young men in arms. All the women were armed, and disguised as men, carrying a sword in their right hand, and their

infants in their left, or fastened to their backs. They were followed by the old men and women, and children, under the protection of a body of soldiers forming the rear. A number of others, unable to follow them, either from age or disease, or unwilling to leave their beloved homes and the tombs of their ancestors, remained behind. They all assembled near a powder magazine, and calmly awaited the end. Those who were to sally forth were waiting for the signal which was to be given to them by other Greeks, expected to come to their rescue. Ibrahim, who knew everything, directed his fire against them. For hours the valiant body of Greeks remained immovable, tormented as much by the painful expectation of succour as by the bullets of the enemy. No signal came from without. When at last the moon rose, and enabled the Greeks to survey the masses of Turks and Egyptians ready to receive them, a thundering voice cried out, "Forward! forward! death to the barbarians!" With superhuman courage the vanguard of the Greeks rushed upon the fortifications of the enemy. Nothing was able to stop their progress, and a broad way was opened through the midst of the terrified Turks and Egyptians. But then some one called out with a terrible voice, "Back into the town!" and a great number were driven back by terror. The infuriated Turks and Arabs followed them, cutting down every one they met. Fearful scenes were now enacted, which lasted the whole night. In every street and in every house those who had remained behind now fought with the courage of despair, and many blew up themselves and the enemy by means of powder. When a numerous body of the enemy broke into the powder magazine, where most of the aged and wounded were assembled, the aged Kapsalis set fire to it, and all were blown up together. The next morning Messolonghi was a blackened heap of ruins, among which 3000 Greeks were buried, together with many thousands of their enemies.

Those who had formed the vanguard in the sally forced their way through the enemy with indescribable difficul-

ties, being attacked on all sides. But their assailants had to pay dearly for it. When at last they arrived at Mount Zygos, they imagined they were in safety; but they were now attacked by a body of Albanese, and a terrible battle ensued. Many of the women, who had become unable to fight, begged their husbands to kill them, that they might not fall into the hands of the Turks. At last they were met by a body of 300 Greeks, who came to their assistance, and with their help they routed the Albanese, and thus at last gained some breathing time. The country through which they pursued their course had been completely devastated; no food was to be found, and danger on all sides. Many died of hunger, fatigue, and wounds. When at last they arrived at Amphissa, they found rest and kindly treatment from their countrymen; but the number of those who had thus escaped amounted to only 1800. Of the Messolonghites it may be truly said that every one of their warriors was a hero and a martyr.

The fall of Messolonghi filled all Greece with sorrow and despair. The government at Nauplia was helpless. Brave men from all parts of Greece, and especially the defenders of Messolonghi, assembled there. But they had neither money nor an army, and an epidemic was raging in the devastated country. All confidence had disappeared, and the distress was terrible and universal; while Ibrahim, who had returned from Messolonghi, and was devastating Peloponnesus, was daily expected before Nauplia. In the meantime, Reshid Pasha was marching against Athens, the only important city of continental Greece. But what was worse than all was the discord among the Greeks themselves, which for some time had already done much mischief, but had now reached at Nauplia its highest point. In these circumstances, Georgios Gennadios called together the men in the public square of Nauplia, described to them in heart-stirring words the condition of their country, telling them that the curse of their ancestors, as well as of their wives and children, and the contempt of the world, would be upon

them, if they did not make a last effort. He summoned the wives and children, who, bearing the cross in their hands, implored their husbands, on their knees, rather to kill them with their own hands than let them fall into the power of the barbarians. The men were fired with fresh enthusiasm, and took a solemn oath to conquer or to die for their country. Every one was ready to sacrifice all he had for the good of his countrymen. All the horses were voluntarily offered, and a cavalry was formed to defend Nauplia against the Egyptians. The aged *Kolokotronis* skilfully directed everywhere a guerilla warfare, not venturing upon any battle, but constantly attacking and harassing the Egyptians. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the mountains, or in caves, or in strong places, abandoning their country to the fury of the enemy, who was devastating it with fire and sword. The inhabitants of Maina, women as well as men, repelled a vigorous attack by Ibrahim, and inflicted severe losses upon him.

Georgios Karaiskakis, who in a short time had acquired the reputation of the greatest general of the revolution, was sent as commander-in-chief of continental Greece against Reshid Pasha. He had formed the great and bold plan of driving the Turks out of Europe altogether. Reshid had besieged and bombarded Athens, and in spite of the brave resistance of its inhabitants, had become master of the city, and was blockading the akropolis, which was defended by the brave *Guras*, with 570 men. Karaiskakis, who set out from Nauplia with 600 men, increased his army at Eleusis to 3500, among whom the surviving defenders of Messolonghi distinguished themselves. Twice he defeated detachments of Reshid's forces, and captured nearly all the cattle and beasts of burden of his army. He now organised the resistance of the akropolis, and formed a grand plan of operations, by which he hoped to surround Reshid in the plain of Athens. The latter, in order to gain possession of the akropolis, began a fearful cannonade in the night of the 18th of October, during which a portion of the Erechtheion was

destroyed; but he was repulsed with great loss. The garrison, which had been much weakened, was now reinforced by Karaiskakis, with 450 warriors, who, under the guidance of two of his bold adjutants, succeeded in the night in making their way into the akropolis. Reshid's operations were constantly frustrated by the besieged. But the small garrison also was daily diminished, and was beginning to feel the want of ammunition, when the brave French colonel, *Fabvier*, a distinguished Philhellene, introduced 650 Greek soldiers. This was effected in the night with great boldness and order. Even before this, Karaiskakis, after fortifying Eleusis and Salamis, had entered Bœotia, with a view of carrying out his great plan. He everywhere drove the Turks before him, and by quick and well-arranged movements he surrounded, near Arachova, a body of 1500 of the best Albanese troops, who were intended as a reinforcement for Reshid, and completely annihilated them. Rich booty fell into the hands of the Greeks on this occasion. Thence he hastened to Thermopylæ, and there captured all the stores of provisions which were on their way to Reshid. Immediately after this he hastened to Ætolia, Phokis, and Livadia, everywhere chasing the Turks before him, and everywhere occupying the most important places, and thus forming a semicircle in the rear of Reshid. He then returned, with 1000 men, to the coast of Salamis, in order to carry out his plan. Even before his arrival, the government had assembled 6000 men in Peiræus and Phaleron (February 1827); but this force, in the absence of Karaiskakis, had always been very unsuccessful against Reshid. The latter soon after attacked Karaiskakis, but was repulsed. The Greek army in Attika was soon increased to 10,000 men. In order to testify its respect and gratitude to England—which, under the guidance of *George Canning*, had shortly before taken a Philhellenic turn—the Greek government appointed the two English Philhellenes, *Cochrane* and *Church*, commanders—the former admiral of the fleet, and the latter commander-in-chief of the land forces. Both proceeded to Phaleron, whither

a Greek fleet also was sent, in which the aged Miaulis readily placed himself under the command of Cochrane. Cochrane wished at once to storm the Turkish entrenchments, and to make an attack upon the whole force of Reshid. His example carried away a great number of the Greek chiefs; but the calm and thoughtful Karaiskakis, who knew the character of his enemies better, and had for the last twelve months made every preparation to secure success, was determined to gain possession of a few more strong points, and not to leave anything to chance. His great plan, as already remarked, was to harass the enemy, to surround them, and thus gradually to destroy them. The Greeks continued to advance slowly from Phaleron, and Reshid began to see that he was being surrounded, and that soon he would have no means of obtaining provisions and ammunition; when all at once some Hydriots and Kretans, carried away by impatience, contrary to the orders of Karaiskakis, made an attack upon the Turkish fortifications on the river Ilissos. They carried with them a portion of the right wing, but Reshid surrounded them in the plain with his cavalry, where some of them were cut to pieces, while the remainder escaped with difficulty. Karaiskakis, who was ill in his tent, rose up and flew into the melee, to save the fugitives and prevent a general engagement. But he was mortally wounded, and, feeling the approach of death, recommended his adjutants to carry out his own plan as the only means of saving Greece. Cochrane, now freed from the control of Karaiskakis, at once ordered the whole of his right wing to advance against the enemy. The Greeks, led by a commander who did not know them, rushed on with great vehemence, but without order; while the centre and the left wing, having received no orders, remained immovable. When, therefore, they were surrounded in the plain by the numerous Turkish cavalry and artillery, they suffered a more terrible defeat than any that had yet been sustained. Fifteen hundred dead covered the field of battle, and nearly all the Suliots had fallen with their chiefs. Drakos, a brave Suliot

chief, was wounded, and on being taken before Reshid, he broke his fetters, and plunged a dagger into his own heart. Cochrane and Church escaped to the fleet. The former sailed to Hydra, while the latter remained in Phaleron, with 2000 men, who, however, being hard pressed by the Turks, were at last obliged to depart. Nine days later the akropolis also surrendered.

The brilliant expectations which the Greeks had entertained of the operations of Karaïskakis, and the anticipated annihilation of Reshid, were at once dispersed by the news of the death of Karaïskakis, and by the destruction of the finest army. Greece was in despair, and its situation terrible. The whole of continental Greece was now in the hands of the Turks. Ibrahim, who had received large reinforcements from Egypt, again began to ravage Peloponnesus in the most fearful manner, having been appointed by the sultan governor of the peninsula. His object was to extirpate the whole of the Greek population, and to people the country with Egyptians and Arabs. Thousands of captured men and women were sent as slaves into Egypt.

Such was the state of Greece, when, fortunately, a great change took place in the views of the great European powers in regard to it. During the first years of the revolution their governments had looked upon the Greeks as perjured rebels against their legitimate sovereign ; and the Austrian government, in particular, openly sided with the Turks. But after 1825 the heroism and martyrdom of the Greeks, and especially the fall of Mesolonghi, and the horrors accompanying it, called forth a cry of indignation all over Europe. The most eminent poets, orators, philosophers, and divines, especially in France, stirred up public opinion. Many enthusiastic men, from all parts of Christian Europe, went to Greece, to share its sufferings or assist in its liberation. They are generally known by the name of *Philhellenes*—that is, friends of Greece. In England many of the leading men stigmatised the policy of the government as unworthy of their country. In the year 1825 George Canning charac-

terised it as a monstrosity and a disgrace. He at once recognised the Greeks as belligerents, and endeavoured, though in vain, through the mediation of Sir Stratford Canning in Constantinople, to induce the Turks to grant a truce. Russia and France, however, were made to sign at London, on the 6th of July 1827, a protocol, in which it was agreed that, if the Turkish government, within a month, did not consent to a truce, the three great powers would officially recognise the independence of Greece, and compel Turkey to observe the truce. In addition to this, the three governments sent their fleets to Peloponnesus, with the special object to stop the inhuman proceedings of Ibrahim. The three fleets, commanded by Admiral *Edward Codrington*, entered the harbour of *Pylos* (*Navarino*), where the whole Egyptian and Turkish fleet was lying at anchor. When the Egyptians fired at the English ships, Codrington gave the signal for that memorable and glorious battle, in which the allied fleet destroyed nearly the whole armada of the Turks and Egyptians, and killed 6000 men. That battle saved the honour of the Christian and civilised nations, who by their indifference had so long been the accomplices of the Turks. As the latter, even after that battle, refused to grant an armistice, the Greeks at once continued the war. Church, the commander-in-chief, in November sailed to Akarnania, whither Kostas Bozzaris likewise proceeded, hoping to retake Messolonghi, which was blockaded on the sea side by the English Philhellene, *Hastings*, who took the small island of Vasiladion. This brave and modest sailor, who had devoted his life and property to the service of Greece, after many and successful skirmishes was killed before Messolonghi in June 1828.

Meanwhile, about the middle of January 1828, *Joannes Kapodistrias*, whom the Greek National Assembly at Træzen had appointed governor of Greece, proceeded to the island of *Ægina*, for the purpose of centralising and organising the government. Kapodistrias, a native of Kerkyra (Korfu), who had lived much in Russia and Switzerland, was patriotic, honest, industrious, and prac-

tical, and at once introduced economy and order in political and military affairs. Church, and especially Ypsilantis, in September 1829, completely defeated a Turkish army of 7000 men, whereby continental Greece was almost entirely freed from the Turks; and at the same time a French army of 14,000 men, under General *Maison*, sent by Charles X. to Peloponnesus, at length compelled Ibrahim Pasha, who had already slaughtered or sold one-fourth of the population, to embark and return to Alexandria (4th and 5th of October). The Turks were thus driven out of Greece.

Kapodistrias, who in the meantime continued to reorganise the country, entirely mistook the national character of the people, and, misled by the injudicious advice of his friends, allowed himself to be induced to adopt several illegal and despotic measures. This and foreign intrigues brought about his much lamented death, on the 9th of October 1831. Greece was of course still in a very unsettled state, and after many endeavours of the three powers to establish a monarchy and to select a king, the kingdom of Greece was at length recognised by the treaty of London, on the 7th of May 1832, and *Otho*, son of the enthusiastic Philhellene, Louis, king of Bavaria, was chosen king. This choice was approved by the National Assembly of the Greeks on the 8th of August, and Turkey was obliged to acquiesce in it.

Of all the Greek countries which for a period of eight years had done and suffered everything to gain their freedom, only the part south of the Gulfs of Pagasæ and Amprakia, down to Cape Tænaron, obtained its independence. Eubœa, with the surrounding islands, and the Kyklades, were likewise incorporated with free Greece; but Epiros and Suli, Thessaly and Macedonia, which had done and suffered so much, and Krete (Candia), were compelled by that treaty again to submit to the brutal tyranny and the revengeful spirit of the Turks.

Thus ended the Greek revolution, and history must acknowledge that during the war of liberation the Greeks

had displayed a heroism and a readiness to sacrifice everything, which has no parallel in history.

King Otho, who arrived in Greece on the 6th of February, was what is commonly called a good, mild, and industrious man ; but he was stupid, self-willed, and a fanatic Roman Catholic. He was moreover jealous of every kind of national independence, and dreaded every independent character, whom he looked upon as dangerous and offensive to his own majesty. He always allowed himself to be guided by the sinister influence of Austria. Although he had promised to comply with the wish of the nation, expressed by its National Assemblies, to give the country a constitution, he never fulfilled his promise ; and it was only after many fruitless attempts, that at last, on the 15th of December 1843, he was forced to grant a constitution. But although he took his oath to observe it, he continually violated it, and allowed himself to be guided by the intrigues of a petty and unworthy camarilla. Greece became the scene of continual internal disturbances and diplomatic intrigues. At length, after a national effort, which was stifled in blood, Otho was expelled, in a unanimous rising of the Greek nation, on the 22d of October 1862. He had poisoned the first growth and development of the people, more from incapacity than from evil intentions.

Although during his reign the love of freedom was stifled, it again burst forth in 1841 in an insurrection of the *Kretans* ; but this was stamped out by the combined forces of Turkey and Egypt. In 1854, *Epiros* and *Thessaly* rose in arms, but after the display of much bravery, they were again forced under the Turkish yoke, through the intercession of France and England, which took military possession of Peiræus.

After the expulsion of Otho, the Greeks, in order to testify their attachment to constitutional government and their confidence in England, unanimously selected Prince *Alfred* of England for their king ; but from want of faith in the stability of the country, he declined the honour. Prince *George of Denmark*, who was then proposed by England as king of the Greeks, was unanimously ac-

cepted by them, and arrived in Athens on the 30th of October 1862. At the same time, on the advice of Mr Gladstone, England spontaneously resigned its protectorate of the Ionian Islands, whereby their desire to be united with their mother country was realised.

During the reign of George, the *Kretans* again rose against the Turks, and for three years (from 1865 to 1868) they fought for their freedom, their religion, and their honour against the forces of Turkey and Egypt. At Vaffa a body of the noblest youths of Greece fell, fighting bravely; and in the monastery of Arkadion 1400 women, children, and old men, with a few warriors, blew themselves up, that they might not be obliged to submit to the Austrian renegade, Omer Pasha. But the superior Turkish forces and the intervention of the European powers, especially of France, at length succeeded in putting down this revolution.

During the forty years that Greece has enjoyed its independence the government has shown itself as incapable as the exertions of individuals have been increasing and enlightened. When the Turks were expelled from Greece the country was completely exhausted through the long protracted struggle, and was covered with the ruins of towns and villages, and the population was more than decimated. But in our days hundreds of new towns and villages have risen from the ruins, the population has doubled, and the countries of Messenia, Achaia, Elis, and Korinth are cultivated like gardens. Even the state of continental Greece has become much improved, although the pashas of Epiros and Thessaly annually throw into Greece hosts of wild Turkish, Albanese, and Wallachian robbers through the narrow mountain passes. The Greek navy is flourishing, and displays its flag in both hemispheres. Public instruction is diffused from Athens, and given gratis to all young citizens of free Greece; liberal education and culture are promoted even among those Greeks who are still subject to Turkey, and the living Greek language proclaims to the world that at least a portion of ancient Hellas, after an enslavement of 2000 years, has again recovered its freedom.

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